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M A N, -
AND THE
CONDITIONS THAT SURROUND HIM;
HIS PROGRESS AND DECLINE,
PAST AND PRESENT.

"The proper study of mankind is man."



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INTRODUCTION.

THIS work, commenced during the leisure hours of a country life, is now, after an interval of many years, and with many misgivings, offered to the reading world. In it the writer has aimed at presenting, in a popular form, some of the current questions, theories, and solutions that have reference to man's past and present conditions, and has endeavored to explain, from certain points of view, some of the principles and conditions that influence human existence; aware, that from other points of view, infinite in number, new principles and conditions still present themselves with an illimitable expansiveness that places the scheme of human existence in its totality, immeasurably beyond the reach, to human penetration, of more than a dim and fractional view.

He neither claims for his work a professionally scientific character, nor courts criticism, nor has any desire to defend whatever errors, defects, and deficiencies his readers may find in it, nor even to contend for its pe-

cular views ; but cheerfully recognizes the right of all to adopt any other views they may prefer, and to correct, to their own satisfaction, any of the errors, defects, and deficiencies they may find, or deem it to contain. And whether it meet the rebuke of true science and learning, or the unfavorable criticisms of the tyros in science and learning, he shall endeavor to receive in silence, the rebuke of the one and the criticisms of the other, and not neutralize by controversy the tranquil enjoyment the work has thus far afforded him.

Nor has he considered it necessary to acknowledge, more fully than he has, the authorities to whom his work may be indebted ; as even the most original and profound in the work of enlightenment and progress, in every age and civilization, gather nearly all the knowledge they possess from the same common store of knowledge, evolved by innumerable intellects, and garnered from successive periods and peoples, nearly every great fact and deduction being due to the general progress of enlightenment, and the product of many successive and contemporary minds, and is found presented under many different modifications, and many different degrees of maturity, in the writings of many different authorities, all for which he is indebted, on any subject in his work, to the writings of others, having been gathered from many different sources, and but incidentally introduced in support of the views he advocates.

Nor could he, by any effort, call to mind or trace out, any considerable portion of the different authorities to whom, during an extensive course of reading through years, he is indebted for much of what he has acquired in the varied departments of knowledge ; and to many of whom, who are entirely lost to his memory, he owes some of his most valuable and durable acquisitions, and many trains of thought and forms of expression that have become incorporated with his own, and are used, unconscious of their origin.

The wise and the good will treat gently the errors of the sincere truth seeker.

M A N,
AND THE
CONDITIONS THAT SURROUND HIM.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY.

WHO can contemplate the starry heavens, and consider the countless worlds that science has revealed, the boundless range, velocity, and harmony of their movements, the mighty dimensions of their masses, and the infinite range and power of the forces that called them into being, and that control and shape their existence, and feel not his soul bewildered by the mysterious immensity of the subject, and lost in silent wonder and dreamy conjecture? and when he turns to the earth, and ponders on all that is revealed to him there, feel not the same unfathomable mystery surrounding him still?

What is creation? whence and to what end and design were all those forms, and forces, and manifestations of space, all these phenomena of

earth, brought into being? whence and what the nature, conditions, and form of being, of the divine master-force that created and controls them all?

Are they necessarily as they are, fixed unalterably in their nature by some inevitable law, according to which there must necessarily arise, as the fullest and best ends from existing conditions and means, only certain definite results? or could creation have been different? or is it throughout, subject to transforming changes, which, in the chronology of infinite periods, alter its laws and forms and forces and manifestations, in ever-varying differences and degrees?

Are they but the necessary emanations of the Divinity? or has their creation been the amusement of an infinite intelligence and power that has constructed them for its own pleasure and contemplation, and as a sphere for its own enjoyment in the midst of their sublime mechanism of nicely related and adjusted parts and forces in all the diversity of infinity; in the midst of countless orbs, and of the diversified life and being of each peculiar sphere; or has their creation been the earnest labor of a divine benevolence, that has prepared them in reference to, and as a means of enjoyment for, vital existences and intelligences of infinitely *varied character* and degree?

Who can stand before the fair face of nature, the smiling landscape, the gorgeous sunset, as his eye expatiates over the beauties around him, as the bland air bathes his brow, as the cheerful voices of nature rise around him, and feel not this a happy world; and in the midst of so much beauty and enjoyment, doubt the beneficence of the scheme of creation? Who that has stood in the summer night, in the summer air, under the summer sky, as he gazed on the myriad worlds shining tranquilly upon him, as he mused on the wonders too mighty for thought, has felt not the pressure of an infinite mystery on his mind; has turned not to himself with an impressive conviction of his own comparative nothingness, and still felt himself a partaker of all the magnificence around him; has felt not that creation was full of beauty, life full of enjoyment, and man's being and destiny a riddle he would solve?

Who has not felt in moments, his enraptured spirit moved by an undefinable reaching after a power of thought that could grasp the infinity of the universe; could bound from the earth and expatiate amidst the sublime mysteries of creation; could quit its tangible realities, and pierce, with an inspired penetration, into its destiny and purposes? And who could fail to

shrink back upon the conviction of his own small sphere of thought and action, within whose narrow bounds even, man is destined to keep ever moving, in circles of unending inquiry, and unending doubt, on the problems around him, into the most simple of which his inquiries must ever fail to reach a point of rest, beyond which the unexplained no longer appears. Infinite are the questions that have arisen and agitated men's minds, then disappeared and risen again and again to be rediscussed; infinite the subjects that philosophy has toiled upon, lost sight of, and again and again recalled and labored upon. For thousands of years have the thinking and the reputedly wise been reasoning in mazy circles upon many questions still unsettled, which the present generation will hand down to be rediscussed through coming generations.

Man's thinking functions, like his digestive ones, must perform in his economy the part that Heaven designed them to perform. Each individual, as he passes over the stage of life, must of necessity do more or less thinking, and satisfy his mental appetite upon such subjects as it craves; they all lie within the limits of this world, from the thought subjects that tender to his animal existence, to those that sublimely rise to the truths of science and wisdom, or

soar with his aspirations and hopes, to a pure and future existence.

As man is still the same since the days of Adam, so have been, throughout all subsequent ages, and so still are, his mental cravings, also the varied subjects by which they are satisfied. Each generation, as it comes and goes, must intellectually range over the same subject-field, within the same earth-enclosure, whence nothing is but what is, and has been, and will be ; and all has been, and will be, discussed and rediscussed through all the generations of man, often in mere intellectual wantonness for the sake of employment, unmindful of the decisions of wisdom or of time, or only emulous to disprove them.

Would the mind seek beyond the world it inhabits, for new subjects, the celestial bodies, — all the eye sees or the intellect perceives, — all, distant as they are, belong as much intellectually to the things of earth, are as truly objects of sense to the mind, as though they were so many pebbles on the shore ; both equally inscrutable in their nature, either in the gravitation which suspends the one class of objects in their courses through space, or fixes the other to the shore ; or in the light form and motion of the one, or the known propensities of the

other. Still earth riddles among the countless ones, which human intellect will keep speculating upon to the end of its duration, uncertainty being the necessary result of the finite speculations of man upon the infinite which dwells in all he sees, from a blade of grass to the worlds suspended around him. With his telescope, microscope, laboratory, and reason, he penetrates a short distance beyond the range of his natural senses, and contemplates with pride the power of his reason; with awe, the profoundness of its research and discoveries; but it is the pride and the awe, the estimate of human reason. What degree of comparative nothingness and superficiality may not belong to his profoundest insight of nature; is it more than the gross conditions of her externals that he reaches, which the lowest intelligences of another sphere might pity him for not understanding?

Heaven destined his mind for action, destined it to be kept in exercise as a condition of its preserving its health and vigor. It should be independent enough to exercise itself, as far as qualified, upon every subject, by whomsoever presented, and reach its most sensible conclusions, nor yield them, without inquiry, to any human authority, past or present; for even genius will

give false judgments, even on subjects to which the whole of its energies have been applied, the very enthusiasm which forms it being often unfavorable to truth, often carrying away the judgment by exaggerated estimates of its favorite pursuits; and learning and philosophy have their changing fashions and standards, according to which their sanctions are accorded; and these, too, fail, as guarantees of truth. Nor does wisdom or time bring with their decisions infallibility. Earth's volume still lies open, with its pages imperfectly studied by human intellect; still lies open, with the same unmastered subjects to be rediscussed, the same pages accessible to man's scrutiny.

Therefore, while modesty and good sense require that the conclusions of others, on subjects which they have specially studied, should be opposed with caution and delicacy, and our own asserted with care, and at times withheld to silently receive and weigh those of others, it behooves every man, so far as he is able, to do his own thinking, and occasionally to launch his intellect upon the ocean of truth, and there see what he can draw from its depths; or if his lines be not long enough to labor there, or his idleness be averse to the effort, let him toil, or amuse himself, as it may be, with the many

questions floating on its surface, and which others are there laboring or sporting with.

I, too, with the silent country and intellectual inaction around me, will launch my mind upon its bosom for employment and pleasure, and with all deference to the mental toils or amusements of others, expatiate with a free spirit on the theme that arrests me.

Since all that exists in nature, in society, all of the changes going on there, are events growing out of other preceding events, all linked to the past and the future, all running on in a train of consequences to infinity, their whence and their whither inscrutable to man's curiosity, beyond the limited range God has permitted him; he may penetrate as far as he can, nor be fearful of encroaching on the sanctity of that boundary, or of intruding into the sanctuary of mystery that lies beyond it. Both in the effects that he sees, and in the causes that produce them, there is a something that retires away to an equally unapproachable distance, beyond the reach of his inquiries, in which he has been given the power of going as far as he may go.

To labor in the broad light of tangible nature, and deal with its externals, to venture, with closer scrutiny, into the inquiry of its physical interior, with an analyzing minuteness to receive

its more hidden workings and properties, with a metaphysical subtlety to trace its causes and effects to their whence and whither, or with a sophistical spirit to grope in its recesses beyond the limit of light, where confession of ignorance would be more wise, belong to the subdivided labors of different classes of the thinking, a great amount of whose ingenuity, talent, and labor, is employed in demonstrating each others' errors.

And although it be a more healthy, elevated, and profitable employment to the mind in the pursuit of truth, to seek it amidst the good and truthful rather than amidst the errors of others, yet are each of these classes of the truth-seeking, but the ordained laborers on the field of investigation. One plants the seeds of knowledge, raises the crop, the other but pulls up the weeds of error that have escaped the culturer's care. The great proportion of men, however, labor not in the fields of investigation, or in the pursuit of truth.

The conclusions of most men are arrived at with very little reflection ; their opinions are founded upon a very limited amount of knowledge and experience ; however great or however small these be, they still constitute the sole standards in the mind, by which it can form its opinions, which are consequently as positive in

ill as in well informed minds. For whatever be the amount of knowledge and experience a person has by any means acquired on any subject; at the moment of delivering an independent opinion; however carefully he has endeavored to inform himself before delivering it or however carelessly, the actual amount in his possession at the time, and in which a knowledge of his own ignorance on the subject, if he have it, also enters, is all his judgment has to appeal to, and upon it is generally disposed to decide with confidence and promptness.

It is flattering to the self-sufficiency of the mind, to feel itself enabled to reach its aims with readiness. It requires no effort to indulge in careless generalizing, or to jump to hasty conclusions. They are biases of the mind only restrained and corrected, in those who seek truth, and to whom, experience and reflection have exposed the worthlessness and uncertainty of hasty decisions, whether in departments of art, science, philosophy, literature, or morals; whether in investigating these, or in judging the investigation of others.

One of the most universally reciprocating relations men stand in toward each other, is that of the critic. Each with his mixture and measure of wisdom and folly, applies

what knowledge he possesses, and adopts a standard by which he confidently and freely judges the world around him. All reciprocally regard one another, each through his own peculiar medium, which partiality, prejudice, interest, passion, ignorance, and carelessness serve to distort, and through which, indifference to another's reputation, aids the passage of unfavorable views. As men differ, and are mainly distinguished by their imperfections and errors, mankind's main regard upon each other is, to know what these are. Each individual mind in the mass, reciprocally busied in estimating each other, finds a few among those under its regard, who approach the requirements of its standard, and who are judged and acquitted before the tribunal of its opinions. The great proportion must necessarily appear, in various degrees, defective before its test and scrutiny, and be the objects of its strictures and condemnation. Thus all are mutually, many unconsciously employed less in praising than in lowering the characters, doings, and opinions of others. Silently or openly marking them by some of the numberless means or degrees of ridicule, contumely, or abuse, from the good-humored look or movement, word, laugh, or smile, that may barely betray its *significancy* to mark some slight devi-

ation from the individual criterion, to such expressions of word or action as are tinged with prejudice or contumely, or dregged with hatred, bitterness, or calumny.

The judgments as well as the feelings of a large proportion of all classes of mankind, are influenced by the peculiar prejudices, partialities, and one-sided views which belong to their respective vocations, stations, and circumstances in life. The religious zealot who hates or pities a better and wiser man, whose creed differs from his own; and he, without piety or virtue, who ridicules or despises both; the moralist of the camp or of the world, who smiles with incredulity or derision at the reproof or the code of a moralist more fastidious than himself: the man of learning, the scientific, the literary, and the philosophic, who undervalue or condemn the mind and intelligence of less intellectual pursuits; and they who pity what they consider the profitless employment of the learned, or who ridicule their peculiarities, are but types of the general reciprocation of prejudice, and of the appreciation with which different classes regard each other's claims to consideration, overestimating them on the one side through partiality, and undervaluing them, on the other, *through* prejudice and ignorance; yet who can

doubt, unitedly forming a true mean estimate of each. Everything tending to elevate them above, or to lower them below their true level, giving rise to a corresponding reaction in the opposite direction. The biographer, generally an admirer or a friend of his hero, may elevate him, as he too often does, at the expense of others who labored in the same field of distinction; but partial and extravagant eulogiums from the biographer or the friend of conflicting claimants, reciprocally neutralize each other. Dissent, misconception, envy, time, and the general indifference of the world to another's honors and triumphs, are correctives sufficient to prevent the most extravagant panegyric or the highest worth, from commanding for an individual, more of the honor and praise of the world than is justly due him; so will the same system of compensating causes work out his true measure of blame. Thus none need withhold conscientious opinions from the fear of censure, nor utter them to gain the applause they may merit, which, whether lost or won, will run an immeasurable chance of being a trifle.

The little notice that mediocrity may draw upon itself but lowers the one that strays from his proper pursuits to win it. Who that thinks of those little ambitions of the great mass of

mankind, and sees how unheeded they pass in the world, would not shrink from placing himself in the same general category, and feel the greater dignity of a position in which there entered no undue concern for the world's applauses or criticisms, from which only the ambition of worth or of genius can draw a prize worth valuing.

And while the healthy and well-directed ambitions of mankind, however humble or elevated, are the great inciters to every elevating effort, the common ambitions and vanities that seek a notice from the world, although serving useful and destined ends, might seem, when we count up their gains and estimate the values of their objects, like delusions, designed in the constitution of the mind, to make it work in better accordance with man's ordained conditions.

Except in a few rare instances, small must be the individual share of worldly fame gained by the greatest efforts, and little in itself worth laboring for. How insignificant seem the aims of that mass who struggle for their small share of it! How humble and trifling seems the ambition that seeks, with so much ardor, the little distinctions to be gained in the small sphere within which most aspirants to fame are satis-

fied in making themselves known! Even the talented competitor for the world's notice rarely gains it beyond a small circle around himself, while millions struggle with elated ambitions, whose names and works never extend beyond the neighborhood they dwell in. Millions, too, with still humbler means and efforts, toil to draw around themselves some little halo of fame, and be known. Of that little that each may gain and be proud of in their different spheres, how much will be neutralized by depreciation, so long as there are those that ridicule, envy, or despise the efforts of others, as well as those that admire. A few years sink them altogether into the same oblivion. New competitors arise to play over the same game, while the greatest among them occupy a brief space in earth's records, an infinite point in the eternity of time and space, and a few years more obliterates everything belonging to them, too, even a name from the memories of the world; and greatness and fame fail to preserve man long from his individual nothingness.

Human reason, in its highest power and enthusiasm, might feel humbled and discouraged by contemplating this destiny of its labors and honors. In its humbler conditions, how much is there to arrest all its labors for distinc-

tion and notice, in the reflection that it is but one in an infinite crowd of aspirant minds, made up of every degree of power and weakness, of meanness and elevation, of ignorance and intelligence; all alike seeking a distinguishing notice from the world, all alike forgetful how abstracted each one in it is with his own little ambitions, alike toiling and filling their sphere of effort, and then alike forgotten; alike regarding more the defects than the merits of each other's claims to consideration, which are only justly yielded in the conflicting and aggregate estimates of all; each individual and each class presenting innumerable aspects to the world, according to the time and position of the observer; each having some degree of characteristic defect, and acting some peculiar, imperfect, and limited part in the world's great drama; and a high and comprehensive intelligence might smile at that assumed wisdom of even the wisest and the greatest, that too confidently and too complacently plays the Mentor or the critic with what they consider the defects or the errors of others.

He who hastily pronounces his brother man's condemnation, can give no stronger proof of his own want of wisdom or of goodness. He who would limit the freedom of thought to the

bounds of his own opinions, can give no greater proof of an illiberal spirit and a narrow mind ; wanting in the charity that respects the conscientious opinions of others, and in the modesty that feels not too assured of the correctness of its own conclusions.

Few subjects are so simple as to be seen in all their aspects, or as to be comprehended in all their bearings by the mind. With all its views and judgments necessarily imperfect, it is ever attributing the effects around it to some certain causes, which, according to its position and bias, it obtains a view of among the many concurring causes that have equally contributed to the effect, and which stand equally prominent to the view of investigation, and are respectively seen by different minds according to their respective peculiarities and positions.

Results of any importance arise from the joint operation of so many causes, remote and near, hidden and seen, as to form a system too complicated and expanded for any intellect to comprehend or embrace in all its dimensions and bearings. Each mind but gains a view of some small point in that far-spreading system of cause and effect, whether it operate in a minute or in a grand series. Each, in searching for the origin of any event, traces it from

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the point to which his intellectual view is directed, and sees its further and future sequences running only in some one direction, determined by the point from which he traces them, often without suspecting the wide expansion they run into in every other direction ; each event, as it rises, instantly acting, producing effects, changing its nature and action in so doing, each instant modified by and modifying everything around it within the sphere of its affinities, repulsions, and developments.

Under this aspect may the views herein presented be received, as fragments, contributed to the mass of fragments that make up man's philosophizing upon his own nature, conditions, and future.

CHAPTER II.

IMPERFECTION OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES AND THEORIES.

EVERY attempt of social or moral philosophers to trace in the scheme of man's individual and national being, present causes and effects back to their origin, or to foretell their further future consequences, amounts generally, even when most successful, to the explanation of some fragmentary view they have caught of the subject, all of the different courses of reasoning upon it being but the mental reflexes of truths emanating from the different points seen, and which branch off in directions more or less opposite or oblique to each other, and respectively present themselves, according to the mental position from which they are observed, and to the mental medium through which they pass, and are never gathered into one illuminating focus by any individual mind. Each but gains some particular view, sees some portions of truth, and blends with it some error ; and thus

compounded, the views and reasonings of all on the subject, result in a mean general influence upon society. He who expects either himself or another to embrace in his views more than a fragment of those truths and their consequences, or to follow any one of them up to its combined and ultimate workings, has not gained a view of even the magnitude and intricacy of the system they form.

Man may endeavor to explain the great scheme of human affairs by subtle speculations and lengthy deductions from past and passing events, but the bare enumeration of the events themselves generally conveys a better explanation than philosophy can give, and offer in themselves as lucid a view as can be gained by reason, the highest reach of which generally is to know what is. The why, whence, and whither, of great and complicated human events, the sum of their causes and their effects, with the means by which divinity shapes and carries them on, are inscrutable to man. Even in his most applauded reasoning on the subject, some of the striking events or facts only, of his history and conditions are taken; then are followed out with ingenious but uncomprehensive subtlety, to narrow views and consequences and obscuring explanations, when

in truth, those great events or facts are rather an aggregation, an accumulation, of small ones, — the effects of innumerable small concurrent causes, which are lost sight of, and which more truly carry along, moulding and changing by the force of their number, complexity, and action, the great events or facts which they form, than receiving from these their births and characteristics.

The scheme of man's being on earth comprises an innumerable series, an inscrutable complication, and a ceaseless mutation of causes and effects, of which he catches but partial and momentary glimpses as they fleet from under his observation, escape from his view, or go beyond his comprehension. The mind shrinks from the infinitude of the scheme, which it cannot see or comprehend, and performs the more equal task of embracing some of its fragmentary parts. Portions of some great events arrest its attention, some great characters; and to the influence of both are attributed results which have arisen from a sum of causes in which they were but trifling elements.

It might prevent much of the waste of means occasioned by ill-applied efforts for the elevation of society, or for the correction of its evils, could those who aim at these ends gain a just

view of the true conditions and principles upon which man's individual and national being are worked out. A knowledge of the true nature and conditions of an object upon which appliances are to be made for the production of given ends, is the first essential that enables man to shape his efforts, apply his means, with any certainty of their being adapted to, or fitted for, the production of the effect he may desire or aim at.

Moral, social, and political philosophers have generally over-estimated the influence of man's individual agency in the guidance of human affairs, relatively to that of his collective agency; have over-estimated the influence of both his individual and his collective agency relatively to the influence of the aggregate agency of all the infinite circumstances and conditions to which he is subject; have aimed at and expected too much; and have applied means, adapting them to the system of society as a whole, when in fact it was only actually seen and understood by them in fragmentary parts. They have thus made appliances for the production of given ends upon society, and have expected results from their action entirely disproportioned to their applicability to the system as a whole.

Much has been written on the principles and causes that govern individual conditions and action, and the social movements of communities, nations, masses of mankind, the human family, that give them their direction, determine the limits and rate of their advancement in civilization, their periods of nationality or distinctive duration, their degree of social and political stability, and their decline.

Numerous systems, too, have been constructed, to illustrate those principles and causes, and to remedy the defects of their workings. All of them aim at turning some current in the tide of human affairs from its present direction, or at staying the momentum with which, in their limited view, it was bearing mankind on with a certain tendency, in a certain direction; and most of them promise results from their appliances unwarranted by a comprehensive survey of human conditions.

But moralists, systematists, speculative thinkers, and speakers are mere destined elements, component parts, in the scheme of human affairs; have a certain destined fractional influence upon them, little affecting them, and which will still leave "the world" jogging on in its course with the inevitable momentum, and in the inevitable direction, it receives, from the whole sum of influences acting upon it.

CHAPTER III.

SUBJECTION OF THE MIND TO UNDEVIATING LAWS.

GOD alone shapes and controls the train of developing sequences to which every part and condition of creation are due. Put back the train as far as man's daring may suppose it to commence, the mental, social, and political, as well as the organic and the inorganic results produced by a succession, a set of adjustments, going back to the most ulterior starting-point of human speculation, we may believe to be as near to the presence and as closely due to the superintendence of an infinite mind as though we considered the last sequence of the series as the producing cause.

All in existence is the result of an immutable connection that God has willed to exist between certain specific means and certain specific ends. Each phenomenon of nature arises from a peculiar combination and adjustment of conditions, designed to produce that especial result. No condition of creation, even the most minute of

the human mind, fails to produce the effect it was fitted and intended to produce.

The origin, progress, direction and limits of human advancement and decline, individually, collectively, and nationally, are the necessary specific results of the specific means ordained by God for their production. These means may be classed under two general heads, first, the faculties, powers and efforts of man; second, the external circumstances, conditions, and influences that surround him.

Man, with all his faculties, impulses and powers, is a single force among those innumerable forces of the universe, that are concerned in carrying on all that pertains to his being and conditions. Taken in connection with all the conditions and influences, past and present, that enter into a determination of human conditions, character, and action, he, with all his faculties, impulses, powers, and volitions, and with all their reality and practical working in human affairs, is but the passive agent of the will of God, who has established between the elements, conditions, and principles of his nature, and the conditions and influences that surround him, certain relations of cause and effect, as uniform in their resulting phenomena as are those of physical nature.

The conditions and determinations of all the powers of his mind, define and designate these as we may, result from a sum of causes beyond his control. Each, separately and conjoinedly with the others, performs the part assigned it in his economy. All of them, collectively, make up his mental being in one moving tide which carries him along, and in which the mental workings, wreathings, and collisions of his different powers, are but like the eddies, whirls, and currents of the troubled stream; it flows on, with its workings in one related mass, made up of the elements and conditions of his mental nature, and aids, by the impulsion of its whole mass, in bearing him on to a destiny he but little controls or foresees.

According to social statistics, however uncertain and varied may appear the volitions and acts of different individuals, placed under any of the given conditions to which human life is subject, when the mental results, the conduct and acts of a large number of individuals, subject to any of those given conditions, are classified, both those results and the proportional numbers of individuals to whom they are respectively due, present a degree of uniformity which indicates the subjection of the individual will to laws as unvarying as any in creation;

and reveals the existence of an approximately fixed and definable amount, character, and proportion of mental defect and perfectionment in the human constitution, which, in their results upon masses, lead to a fixed and definable amount, character, and proportion, in the mental maladies and tendencies, the errors, vices, crimes, virtues, and moralities that grow out of them; and of which, each period of life has its measurable quantities and definite characteristics.

So the statistics of population, marriage, birth, death, sex, &c., attest the invariability and the inevitability of the laws that govern human existence and determine its results. In every age, nation, and clime, the two sexes come into existence and depart out of it, in nearly equal numbers. The proportion of the youthful to the mature, of the male to the female, of the married to the unmarried, of births to marriages, and of births to death, oscillates with the varying conditions to which mankind is subject, within comparatively narrow limits of variation, which are never violated: The proportions of marriages which rest upon individual choice, and the proportions of births and of deaths which are independent of it, being equally undeviating.

And as far as statistics have been applied to

the conditions of human existence to which they are applicable, they have demonstrated this invariability of their adjustments, adaptations, relations and workings, to predestined ends; and could the simultaneous results of individual existence, under any given conditions, be estimated in one connected system, embracing all mankind, individual and local differences would be neutralized to a mean uniformity much nearer to a fixed quantity or standard, than man's observations and deductions can ever trace them.

The uniformity with which such results of human existence as are tangible to his investigations, are found to receive their characters and determinations from a sum of causes beyond his control, may warrant the belief that every other result of human existence is equally determined by a sum of causes beyond human control, and that man, in being thus carried along, is only in harmony with every other part of creation.

So, in harmony with the organic system to which he belongs, he but shares, with its other parts in susceptibility of cultivation, and is as surely acted upon by constitutional peculiarities and determinations, and by external conditions and influences, upon all of which his individual

and class characteristics and adaptedness to his position depend. All of the influences and determinations arising out of the peculiarities of age and sex, natural temperament, and constitutional character of body and mind, and those due to external conditions, are facts in his existence from which he cannot escape, nor from the certain inevitable sum of their results.

The acorn in the soil grows and becomes an oak ; according as the germ, the soil, and every surrounding condition and influence have been, so will be the modification of the tree. A human being, conceived and born, grows and becomes a man ; as his germ, his inherent beginning, and every circumstance, condition, and influence have been, so will be the modification of the man.

A human germ endowed with life is developed into an organism, the evolutions of its complex structure being due to materials and forces derived, except to a very small degree, from sources outside of itself. Every organic form is an aggregation of elements drawn together by the properties and laws inherent to them and to it. Every organism, from the highest to the lowest, of the vegetable and the animal, with its respective powers and capabilities, goes through a gradual and an undeviating

process of development, according to the laws of organic existence ; its nature and form, manifestations and powers, are determined by the moulding conditions that God has given them.

This subjection of nature to undeviating laws, its workings to invariable ends, has been recognized in every age and condition of mankind. Science has demonstrated it in every department of nature, — in the sublime wonders of the heavens, as in the minute adaptations of the microscopic world, and in the invisible forces and energies of creation. Even the imponderable elementary constituents of the material universe, are found to be governed by relations and adjustments so unvarying as to enter into combinations only under conditions, in proportions, and with results, which are unvarying, as manifested in the system of chemical equivalents.

Those invisible energies, those secret adjustments, and those regulated laws, that have brought into being, and that control the movements and shape the existence of the visible universe, are among the most wonderful of the phenomena of creation, and warrant our belief in the power of the laws and conditions of human existence, of also working out, with a secrecy, complexity, perfectionment, and reach

of adjustment, that go immeasurably beyond the comprehension, or the attainment of human reason, all the regulated conditions, wants, and ends pertaining to man's mental and physical being.

All that exists in the regions of visible space, nebulous masses, nebular stars, and starry systems, in all their diversity of form and size, the myriads of individual and multiple stars that form our own starry stratum and zone, the sun, with the planetary orbs, the comets, and aerolites that encircle him, all the sublime mechanism of the heavens, with its myriad forms of light stretching to the furthest reach of telescopic vision, have come into being, and move on in noiseless and eternal harmony, according to immutable laws and forces, that man recognizes as the divine means by which all is controlled. Amid this vast spectacle, belonging to this mighty mechanism, in which distance, and magnitude, and velocity surpass all the powers of man's conception, the earth, an humble and a subordinate member of even the solar system to which she belongs, floats an infinite atom in the immensity. All of the processes of organic and inorganic existence, action and change, going on within and around her, all of the moving forces of nature belonging to her, every

manifestation of animal mind, are acknowledged to be governed by the same system of undeviating laws, designed to produce, under given conditions, given results. Man, a transient member of this point of creation, a single and an infinitely small portion of the animated existences of this relatively humble sphere, stands in the midst of this diversified creation that surrounds him, and while he recognizes and acknowledges its existence and all its conditions as due to the undeviating adjustments, laws, and forces that God has established as the means by which it is all governed, he claims for some of the powers and conditions of his own individual and collective being, an exemption from that necessary subservience to God's controlling laws and adjustments which govern every other part, power, and condition of nature, throughout the furthest limits of the organic and inorganic creation, all parts of which, however dissimilar, in form and attribute, with all the laws and forces belonging to it, make up one blended whole, — a unity of existence in which man's mind but forms a portion of the same mental system that embraces every degree and character of animal mind, rising in each ascending step in the scale of animal existence, to superadded powers, in all their stages of grad

uation, from the rudimentary to the most perfect, until it reaches in man those attributes and powers that enable him to investigate the physical and moral phenomena and truths of existence, and to connect his being with a God and a future life, its nature, workings, and results remaining throughout all of its phases ever and equally the necessary effects of conditions beyond its control.

But for those uniform relationships, trains of sequences, and modes of operation which manifest themselves in the phenomena of every department of nature, and constitute its laws, human society, even life itself, would be either an impossibility or a chaos, devoid of science, art, or progress of any description. In their absence no experience would avail, no deductions be made, or inductions attempted, on any subject, from past and passing events or phenomena, as to future results or consequences. It is this uniformity in the conditions, operations and results of the mind, in its feelings, affections, passions, emotions, sympathies, &c., in the manner in which these are acted upon and in which they act, that enables man to anticipate the conduct of his fellow man, under any of the various conditions and influences to which he is subject, or that renders his association for

any of the purposes and ends of social and national existence at all practicable.

Thus responsive to the universal sentiment of piety, mankind, in every age and condition, have associated together, under diverse creeds and forms of worship, and bowed in common unison before the same inscrutable power, whose mysterious agency everywhere impresses itself upon his attention, and transcends all his powers of conception. And thus, in every age and state of society, the reasoning of the mind upon all that concerns men's moral relations to each other, have been the same ; in the moral reflections of Job, the proverbs of Solomon, the moral precepts and maxims of Confucius and of Mahomet, of the ancient Hindoo, Greek, Roman, Jew, Mexican, African, and of every people and of every degree and character of civilization.

While conscience, the sense of right and wrong, that internal monitor of the moral being, out of which have grown the world's moralities and all of its moral codes, is equally unvarying in its nature and operations, and like those secret sympathies and instincts of nature, which, in their general and wide operations and results, only seek and find, in fulfilling their appropriate aims and ends, their own satisfaction, is so adjusted to human conduct, its aims, ends, and

results, as to evolve, for the individual, for society, for the nation, for the human family, either suffering or happiness, to the degree to which its tendencies and dictates are violated, or to which they are obeyed and satisfied; and even the sense of moral responsibility may lie in the secret, instinctive, intuitive perception, inherent to the individual and general mind of humanity, of the respective consequences that accompany or that follow the violation or the satisfaction of those tendencies and dictates of his moral nature, and of the inevitability of those consequences either in this life or in the life to come.

These inherent principles and tendencies, implanted in the mind and ushered into action by the social state, are the secret and main springs of all moral and social order, and work out their ends under the influence of a sum of conditions, amid which, in the determinations of the moralities of mankind, human reason is but an element.

Many powers of the mind beside the reasoning one, many, entirely animal and impulsive in their nature, enter into the determinations of every volition and act, no one act being ever the resultant of any single power of the mind. The energy of every act of the mind depends upon the

singleness of the direction which different powers of the mind concurringly give it. The will but obeys, carries out the determinations that result from the joint action of all the determining faculties, powers, and influences that sway the mind. The tide of human conditions, passions, impulses, desires, aims, and efforts, the mechanism of the human constitution, of society, and of the world that surrounds him, aid in bearing man along according to the conditions, adjustments, laws and forces, to which he and they are equally subjected by the divine will.

To the degree to which any mental determination or any other influence operates upon him, it prompts to its respective end. Good influences and habits, and constitutional inclinations to virtue and morality, are surer guarantees against immorality and vice than the most virtuous resolves and the nicest power of moral casuistry. So elevating conditions and tendencies in the nation, are greater elements in national welfare, and surer guarantees against declension than the most refined civilization, and the wisest laws and enactments which corruption and evil may pervert.

Influences good and evil, elevating and lowering, come more or less into contact with all men, and enter into the economy of all nations,

and act upon each according to their respective affinities, for the good or for the evil that surrounds them. The good or the evil, the elevating or the depressing characters of men's motives and acts, and of individual and national tendencies are determined by the preponderance of good or of evil, of elevating or of depressing conditions and influences within and around them. The character and direction of the activities of individuals, nations, and races, are the equivalents of their mental characteristics, habits, and ideas, both equivalents being shaped by the same system of conditions, and both acting and reacting with a reciprocating, ever modifying and assimilating agency upon each other.

The mental condition of individuals, nations, and races, is continually oscillating between points, above and below its respective mean standard, according as the influences acting upon it be elevating or lowering. They may be such in character and continuity as to elevate it for a time, permanently above that standard, or, as to depress it permanently below, or, such as may do so within intervals more or less lengthy. The mind of either the individual, the nation, or the race, may, under the pressure of an unusual influence, at one time rise temporarily so far above its natural power, and

by a spasmodic effort even reach a point of energy so far above itself as to be gained only by an exertion that would leave it in a state of prostration, or exhaust it beyond the power of recovery. At another time, under other and lowering influences, it may sink as far below itself. It may concentrate itself into a great effort, sustain itself through a prolonged one, or be spent upon a more prompt or a more lengthy manifestation ; or, it may lie latent, or pressed down under the spell of circumstance unrecognized.

In all of its phases or states, its agency in human affairs is a rigid result of its own and of surrounding conditions. In all, its guiding or controlling influence, is an infinitely small element among the grand sum of elements that carries on human affairs, or among the determining conditions of human existence, and works out, only through its compensating antagonisms and its aggregate and diverse aims and efforts, its destined end in the individual, social, and national economies.

All of its conditions, operations, and results — it is becoming more and more apparent with the progress of science, it is assumed — are evolved in accordance with dynamic laws, embracing the convertibility of different forms of

force into each other, by which vital and mental activities and results are dependent upon changes in the nervous system and bodily structure. All thoughts, sentiments, emotions, sensations, or mental emotions of any description, being the equivalents of forces generated in the organism, and expended in their production, their very existence being indicated only by their connection with bodily activities, through the increased or the decreased energies of which they manifest their intensities.

Each individual realizes, from sources within and around himself, a certain sum of varied related forces, chemical, thermal, vital, intellectual, emotional, sensational, mechanical, — the resultants of anterior forces, and themselves convertible into other forms of force, as manifested in the multifarious, individual, and national results of human agency.

The complex, dynamical conditions of human society — so far as dependent on human agency — have thus their starting-point in the individual organism, which in its nutrition and growth receives and evolves the forces by which it is animated, and which, through its instrumentality, produce their destined results. All of the physical, vital, mental, moral, social, and national activities and results, laws, institu-

tious, morals, art, science, and literature, and every result due to human agency, and entering into the conditions, progress, and existence of nations, being the resultants or equivalents of the physical, the intellectual, moral, emotional, sensorial energies of the aggregate of individuals composing the national body.

In the constitution of which its city populations and its intellectual classes may be regarded as the ganglionic centres of its forces, and the principal intellectual elaborators of the higher conditions of its progress and civilization. While the great general sum of its forces, from which it receives its momentum and direction, so far as these are due to its own agency, resides in the great general mass of its population, which is the moderator and the regulator also of its movements, and the source from which are supplied and renewed, the mind and body energies, spent and wasted in the intensified activities of its city populations and its intellectual classes.

To whatever extent this rigid subjection of human existence to undeviating laws may be recognized, whatever speculations may be indulged in, or solutions may be reached, beyond the most ulterior point to which the laws of mind, as of any other department of nature,

may be traced, man ever finds himself in the presence of a something more ulterior still, — an inscrutable reality, that baffles all his ability to explain, and ever impresses him with its mysterious workings and power, as the true originating cause, that underlies and controls all of the more apparent phenomena he is studying, — a God in the universe.

CHAPTER IV.

MAN'S LIMITS OF PERFECTIONMENT, AND RELATIONS TO THE ORGANIC AND INORGANIC WORLDS.

THE different degrees and phases of perfectionment and of civilization that man passes through, are but his oscillations between the higher and the lower capabilities of his nature, and are produced by the different conditions that surround him. The limits of his capabilities and of his perfectionments are fixed, and beyond his own powers and efforts to change or to control. If it be assumed that change in the physical and spiritual conditions of the earth, are to develop man into a being superior to what he has been and is, the records of geology, the main testimony upon which such an hypothesis could be founded, seem to present no such insensible gradations of change from one type of organization to another, as afford ground for the belief that the development goes on in existing species, but rather that each runs its career unchanged, performs its part in na-

ture's economy, and perishes, in giving place to other and superior organisms, whether according to laws of periodic change, or through special creations, or by what means, are among the unsettled problems of science on the subject.

Science, it is true, has demonstrated the existence of a law of evolution and development, from lower to higher conditions, from the indefinite to the definite, the simple to the complex, the general to the special, the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, the less to the more matured, in conditions, attributes, and functions, pervading all creation, from the mineral, vegetable, and animal, to man, to human society, the human family, to worlds and systems of worlds, and to general creation. And the existence of the law, in its simpler manifestations, is too apparent to be questioned and has been more or less fully recognized in past ages and philosophies. Its operation is so continually obtruded upon the attention as to force its recognition upon every observer. It is seen in the development of the plant and its products from the seed; in the development of the animal with its attributes and functions, from the egg and the womb; and in every species of growth and development.

But the furthest deductions that have been

reached in regard to the law, cannot warrant, except as entirely hypothetical, the assumption of man's evolution from the lowest types of life, and his further progression to a higher order of being; which, as a necessary corollary, implies the same progression—even to his status—of all else that belongs to the same system of life, from the lowest plant and animal upward.

And although the remains of the organic world, with the rocky strata in which they are preserved, attest the progression of organic being, from elementary forms, through its different phases of perfectionment, to present living species, and demonstrate the earth to have been occupied by forms of existence that have passed away, and that are connected by similarity of structure, more or less varied, to present and new forms of organic existence; although the complexity and perfectionment of the vegetable and animal organization have increased, seemingly in an exact ratio with the progressive increase in the number, complexity, and perfectionment of the developing conditions of the earth; although many of the lower and more simple organizations have remained through every geological period up to the present, as numerous, as varied, and many of their forms as unchanged,

as at the dawn of their creation ; neither obliterated by a course of development into higher grades of life, nor superseded by the higher grades of life that succeeded, thus indicating the continued presence of the simple conditions and laws, adapted and essential to their advent and continuance on the earth ; yet the whole progress of organic existence to higher conditions of perfectionment, seems to have been through the successive destruction of specific existing forms ; all of the successive fossil types presenting themselves as having passed from their living scene of action, through the operation of geological, cosmical, and other causes and changes, in accordance with the higher types that succeeded.

Man was created, as all other organisms in nature appear to have been, under certain types adapted to, and growing out of, the conditions under which he was to exist, and ordained, like them, to remain — within certain limits of variation due to modifying conditions — ever the same so long as he continued a living species on earth. His osteological remains, which can be traced back to a very remote period, indicate no
 ? change of form, while the permanence of different existing types or races of mankind, from the earliest known period, seems to be demon-

strated by the labors and researches of science, and a host of able investigators.

He has thus no warrant in the law of progression which is evidenced in the records of geology and in the forms of organic nature, to hope that his destiny is progressive to higher types, but rather, that his being, in all its mutations of race diversity, is to go on oscillating between the higher and the lower capabilities of his nature, according to the conditions that surround him; and that if the law of progression is to go on and unfold higher terrestrial conditions, and bring into being natures superior to man as he is, it will be through such changes, and according to such laws as have, agreeably to geological evidences, successively ushered into existence superior organisms upon the ruins of preceding and inferior types, and as must consign the present races of man also to extinction, instead of carrying them to higher points of development and capabilities of attainment.

Individuals, communities, nations, all things in creation, from the orbs of space to the insect, are subject to that species of progressive development through which they commence their existence in elementary conditions, expand to certain limits of maturity, and then waste away, *resolved into their constituent elements.*

CONDITIONS THAT SURROUND HIM.

'The nebular theory, based upon known and observed facts, assumes a gradual maturing process to be a law in the development of the celestial bodies, the solar system having gone through the same maturing process to its present conditions. The solid earth with its fossil forms, bears the unmistakable marks of having gone through such a system of progression to its present state of maturity, and every organic form and nature around us matures through the same process of progressive development. It appears to be a law in the production of all created forms and natures. But such of these as are within the reach of our observation, sink by as invariable and as universal a law, into their original nothingness, resolved into their original elements, after that maturity has been attained; and if improved by the improving conditions that surround them, relapse back, as these fail, or suffer unfavorable change. And we have every reason to believe that the same law of decline prevails with equal invariability, from the insect to the spheres of space. All are ushered into existence, mature with many oscillations to their destined point of maturity, and when this is gained, decline and perish, resolved into their original elements, and entering into new combinations, and aiding in the *production of new forms.*

Each variety of organic and of inorganic form and nature, standing equally apart, marked by its appropriate, its distinguishing peculiarities, the organic producing like from like, each animal and vegetable form and nature being within certain limits, and with certain modifications, ever the same ; a man being ever a man, a horse a horse, and so on through the catalogue of organic creation ; and the inorganic still preserving the same degree of invariability, as rigidly the same, and with no wider a range of modification, than if produced like from like ; all of the varied inorganic products being ever alike, gold being ever gold, salt ever salt, coal ever coal, and so on throughout the whole range of inorganic creation, from a grain of sand to worlds and suns and astral systems ; all respectively resembling the grain of sand, and worlds and suns and astral systems, as closely as though produced like from like ; the invariability of both systems, organic and inorganic, through all their varieties, being equally the results of an equal invariability in the respective laws and conditions that bring them into existence, the one class as hidden from human scrutiny and comprehension as the other.

Man thus shares, with every other part of creation, in that immutable condition of a grad-

ual development to maturity, and in this subsequent decline or decay ; this invariability and fixidity of his created nature, oscillating through the varying and fluctuating modifications produced in it by the varying conditions that surround him.

But whether he is, or is not, to progress to a more elevated and less vacillating nature than he now possesses, and condition than he now realizes, such a progression is equally beyond the range of his own aims and efforts. All and each, from the lowest to the highest vegetable or animal organism, are brought into being with definite faculties and powers, adapted to definite ends, according to the developing conditions that surround them. All and each of the faculties and powers of man start into action, and reach the ends to which they were adapted and destined, the moment the proper conditions surround them.

Civilization, with its arts, sciences, literature, and refinement, is as definite and as spontaneous a result, from the faculties, powers, and conditions of man, as are the ends reached by any animal or vegetable organism, the definite and spontaneous results of theirs. The vegetable, the brute, and the man, are equally powerless to change in the least the character of their own

development, from the direction it receives from all of the circumstances, conditions, and influences, past and present, that enter into its determinations.

Like every other animal organism, every animated being and class, every vegetable and mineral individual and system of the world, man but holds an ordained place, is, and performs an ordained and a reciprocating part in the economy of nature. From the inorganic and mineral worlds the vegetable draws the elements of its structure, and yields them again in a prepared form, to the support of animated creation, whence they again escape in altered conditions adapted to vegetable growth, and thus revolve in endless succession through the same circle of changes and purposes.

Circular and reciprocating motion, action and reaction, is the great law of the universe, the ever oscillating pendulum of creation, whose regulating pulsations pervade every department of nature, and vibrate back and forth from static points of rest or of reaction, in obedience to opposed and compensated forces, whether in the minutest cycles of formation and disorganization passed through by organized and unorganized particles ; in the larger cycles of development, maturity, and decay, passed through by

individuals, nations, races, the human family; in the grander cycles of development, maturation, and decadence, belonging to the planetary, solar, and stellar bodies and systems, or in the cycles of their secular oscillations, the dilations and contractions of their orbits, the precession of their equinoxes, the revolutions of their nodes and apsides, the retardations and accelerations of their movements, their mutations, and other secular variations; all embracing definite and ever recurring periods, from moments to thousands and millions of years; and velocities rising according to approximate estimates of the movement of the solar system through space, to half a million of miles a day; while night and day, light and darkness, winter and summer, heat and cold, expansion and contraction, storm and calm, life and death, and all other extremes in physical, mental, social, and national existence, are succeeded by their compensating opposites.

So all of the physical materials and elements of the universe are continually oscillating back and forth, between their highest organized relations, combinations, and conditions, to their more simply elemental. The bodies of space have grown through the movements of the elementary constituents of which they are com-

posed, which have passed from their first simply combined and related elementary conditions, through their various phases of formative order, into their higher conditions, under more complex relations and combinations, as parts of matured forms and developments ; from which state, by the same law of reaction, they will again sink back, and be again resolved, into their more simple elementary relations. The elementary constituents that at one period enter into the formation of inorganic matter, rise into and constitute the form and structure of the vegetable organism, and again react back to their elementary and unorganized relations and conditions, or, taking a further sweep, a more far-reaching oscillation, rise from their disorganized condition, after serving the vegetable development, into still higher spheres of development, to form the animal structure ; and then again, from this high reach of combination, relation, and development, react back to more simple elemental relations and conditions. The constituents that have formed the living grass and grain, rise into the structure of the ox, and the constituents of the ox and the grain rise into the structure of the human body, and again react back to elementary conditions ; the constituents that once formed the human body,

again entering into the constitution of the atmosphere we breathe, and of every organic and inorganic substance that surrounds us.

The elementary materials of man's physical structure are thus continually changing place with those of the physical creation around him. That which now constitutes his animal texture and frame, will become, within a short period, embodied in the living and the inorganic existences by which he is surrounded; and the materials of present existing forms — animal, vegetable, and mineral — will take their place, and enter into the constituents of his living organism. Thus the structural integrity of man, as well as of every other organic form, is maintained by the constant interchange of material between the forms and existences that constitute the material universe. Man in this elemental circulation, in the physical arrangements and economy of creation, holds a place as rigidly assigned him as the lowest animal. Nor can any limit be supposed, beyond which that system of interchange ends. Infinitude marks this, as well as every other department of creation. A universal circulation animates the whole; commingles, blends, and identifies all the material and immaterial elements of individual existences into unity with the elements of the general universe.

Between the circumference and the centre, the interior and the exterior, of the earth and of every globe of space, as between these and the etherial medium in which they move; between their material and their immaterial constituents: between even the immortal spirits and essences of the varied intelligences by which they are tenanted; the same course of interchange may be going on. Even the material and spiritual of creation may be transmutable, the one into the other, and be ever alternating through such a course of interchange; and all natural and artificial forces — organic and inorganic, chemical, mechanical, mental, social, and vital — gravitation, heat, light, electricity, magnetism, motion, are co-related equivalents, ever in course of mutual transformation into each other.

All of the elements and forces of the universe may be subject to the law of decay and renovation, of deterioration and repair, and be, at the present moment, in some of the spheres, in some portion of creation, or throughout it, either in course of development to superior conditions and degrees of potency, or be past their culminating points, sinking from wear and exhaustion into decadence and impotency, again to pass through processes of restoration into

cycles of renewed activity and development. All is immortal; matter never perishes, only continually assumes new forms, and realizes ever varying and new conditions; its home is the general universe. So is the immaterial principle or soul, the force that animates the material universe, equally immortal and indestructible, and its home equally the general universe.

Of the full sum of animated existence on earth, man forms a very small fraction, and is but a co-partner of its bounties with myriads of others equally gifted with the boon of life, and even to the insect and microscopic animalculæ, equally realize from it their allotted species and degrees of enjoyment. Nor does it derogate from his high position and mission on earth, to be thus considered as directly associated with the animal world, and through the animal world, indirectly with the vegetable, and through the vegetable again, more remotely with the inorganic, all being one united divine conception.

An emanation it may be, of divinity itself, thus realized and manifested under the multifarious individualities, the innumerable forms, phenomena, and processes of creation. And the exulting joys of vitality, the mysterious and

hidden gratifications of inanimate existence, all of the infinite modes through which nature manifests itself, and seeks and finds the satisfaction of its tendencies, affinities, and sympathies, which thrill through the unnumbered and diversified forms and modes of being, which fill and form the visible universe, may be but the experiences of the one, and the same sentient principle or soul of the whole, thus realizing, under all of its diversities of condition, its ordained sum of enjoyment.

According to the most advanced physical views of the day, a state of incessant and rapid revolution, and poles of opposite electrical conditions, are inherent to each and every atom that constitutes the material universe. Thus every created atom simultaneously vibrates in one related whole, under the sympathetic play and pulsation of those properties which again give origin to, or manifest themselves in, the phenomena of heat, light, electricity, magnetism, and the elective affinities — chemical, magnetic, gravitative, cohesive, and vital — that exist between atom and atom.

As creation is thus bound together into a sympathetic whole, by its atomic conditions and properties, some of the resulting phenomena of which are known to play an all-important part,

as forces in the economy of the universe ; and as nature and God ever work by means the most simple and direct, each multiplied to infinity in its resulting ends, animal and vegetable existence may be due to a higher order of the same formative force to which are due the formation and development of inorganic forms, though vitality, with its results, holds a place so prominent and unique among the phenomena of nature, as to appear like a distinct force, or the result of a distinct force, among the other forces of creation, endued with formative energies and tendencies, according to which its peculiar products receive their given forms and attributes. In the embryo, the seed, the egg, the animal foetus, there is seemingly a master force that arranges and gives direction to the elementary constituents of the organism, develops it into existence, shapes the animal and vegetable tissues, textures, mechanism, and frame, and holds its control over the organism after this is matured.

And how shall we separate the formative principle that determines the varied forms, properties, and movements that exist in the different departments of creation? that which moulds the varied forms, textures, and properties of organic nature, and that to which are

due the infinite forms, textures, and properties belonging to the inorganic world. The structure of the earth, the structure of the universe, has been aided by the agency of some formative, moulding principle, term it what we may, according to which their varied elements, textures, forms, and movements have assumed their present conditions ; while from the highly tenuous material of the primitive universe was aggregated and formed a related system of circling and rotating spheres, endued with the generating forces, out of which have grown all the infinite and varied results of creation.

Thus the earth, like all other material bodies, having been evolved according to certain laws of aggregation and growth, all the processes and results of its existence are, like those of other bodies, carried along by the conditions that belong to it. It may have passed through its different phases to maturity, and may exist, through the operation of a principle as truly vital, and as genial in its processes, and in the conditions and workings of its energies, as that which governs the growth, maturity, and existence of an animal or a plant ; yet the principle and its operation be necessarily hidden by the vastness of the periods through which it operates to its given ends. The internal struc-

ture and textures of organic and inorganic forms, and the moulding operation of the so-called vital principle, in the animal and the vegetable, could not be suspected from a view of their exterior; nor would the existence of the principle be recognized were the processes of their developments as slow, and the periods of their growth and maturing as vast, as are those of the earth and universe; or were they as untangible and unappreciable as are those of the crystal mineral and other inorganic forms.

The infinite diversity and invariability of the different inorganic formations are as great and as apparent as are those of the organic. The formative force or forces that determine the forms, structures, and properties of the one class, are as invariable and sure in their results as are those of the other. Each crystallized substance, every mineral and inorganic creation, has its form, structure, and properties as definitely fixed as those of the organic. Those of the one class are determined, moulded, and controlled by what is designated vitality; those of the other class are determined, moulded, and controlled by a similar formative force, equally invariable and sure in its operation, and as diversified in its results, under a yet unfound designation, and probably only differing from

the other in possessing a lower order of developing power, and producing a lower order of results.

Thus inorganic forms, with their attributes of extension, inertia, gravitation, cohesion, affinity, magnetism, electricity, heat, light, and crystallization; vegetable forms, with their added attributes of vitality, organization, assimilation, and reproduction; and, finally, animal forms, with their additional attributes of locomotion, sensibility, and mind, through all their ascending gradations, may be but successively higher products of the same formative principle, each evolved in connection with correspondingly superior developing conditions and laws; each advanced condition and law, in these as in every other department of creation, successively involving those that preceded, the conditions and laws of the inorganic creation entering into the composition of the conditions and laws of the organic, the conditions and laws of both the inorganic and the organic entering into the composition of the conditions and laws of the animal, all respectively subserving higher and higher purposes, and all together combining in harmonizing union to the fulfilment of their respective and general ends. And as the crowning product of the formative principle in terres-

trial nature is man, the highest specific end the general economy of the earth subserves within its own special domain has reference to human existence and conditions.

All vital forms, all of the forms of organic and inorganic existence, are but the varied conditions, the passing phases, through which are circulating the elementary constituents of the universe. To how subtilized a condition beyond their present traceable or hypothetical limits the material constituents and the immaterial properties and forces of creation go; how nearly the material approaches the immaterial, or whether both run into each other and constitute in a graduated series one connected system, who shall answer? In every direction in which the actualities of creation may be traced from man's standpoint in nature, as indicated by his senses and faculties through which he is connected with and recognizes them, they are found extending, with each advance in his powers of investigation, into a deeper and deeper obscurity of minuteness, subtlety, complexity, and immensity, in which all traces of their existence become finally lost to his powers of detection; embracing those dependent upon his unaided senses, to those due to the telescope, microscope, laboratory, and other means

of research, beyond which, even within the limits of the visible creation that surrounds him, and connected with it, there may exist untangible to his perceptions, diversities of condition, varieties of corporeal form and being, and modifications of intelligence, as great as is the formative power of God, and the extent to which creation goes in every direction beyond man's power of observation and detection. Science can but reach the threshold of the arcana of nature, and leaves utterly unexplained the conditions that lie beyond its furthest traceable phenomena, and possesses neither the ability nor the warrant either to assert or to deny the similarity or the dissimilarity of the formative forces of organic and of inorganic creation. Either might be assumed without contradiction of any of the recognized laws or known conditions of creation.

In the minute structures of the organic world, and in the modes of their developments, the microscope reveals a unity of plan throughout, and a similitude of organization much closer than what is apparent to the natural vision; and has traced the two systems, the animal and the vegetable, down, until they meet in a common centre, the simple or individual cell, where all means of distinction between the

animal and the vegetable ceases, under the closest scrutiny of science, of the microscopist, the zoölogist, the botanist, and the chemist.

The starting-point throughout the whole range of the organic world is thus the identically same vesicle or cell which rises through its varied and progressive gradations of development into successively higher, more complicated and perfected organisms, forms, and capabilities, according to the infinitely varied developing agencies to which it is subjected, and according to the direction, degree, and point of development to which it is carried; and links together the two grand divisions of the organic creation in one connected scheme, united in its modes and laws of development, organization, structure, nutrition, and decay, however diversified. And man's preëminence in this scheme, and in this scene of his existence, consists, not in an isolated superiority, but in the position which he occupies as the head member of it all, as well as in the range of development and in the faculties and powers through which he is adjusted to that position, and qualified to meet the requirements and fulfil the obligations and duties belonging to it. His pride has no cause to shrink from the recognition of his close identity with the animal and

vegetable worlds, and through these with the inorganic, since every part of the scheme in which he is permitted to hold a place is equally the work of the divine will, and equally under its control.

He has, as unchangeably as each animal and vegetable organism, each mineral constituent of the earth, rigidly fixed and assigned limits in his range of action and results, and in his rate of increase upon the earth, and no more controls them than does the animal, vegetable, or mineral theirs. The sum of animal and vegetable vitality belonging to the earth, as manifested in its diversified living forms and structures, and the relative proportional sum of human life and of all other forms of animal and of vegetable life, are probably—within certain limits—unvarying; except through those immense periods that belong to the geological and cosmical revolutions of the earth.

The prolongation of human life by a knowledge and observance of the laws of health consequent on advanced enlightenment and inquiry, does not probably increase its general sum. This knowledge and observance is an attained advantage which, like other human attainments, extends, equally in every period, *only to certain and relatively proportioned sec-*

tions of the human family, and is continually escaping from one section to another, according to the fluctuating conditions of their respective degrees of enlightenment; and where the advantage does exist, it is but a single cause among a myriad of other causes that act upon human longevity; while according to one of the limiting laws of increase, reproduction is apt to increase or to diminish in some proportion to the increased or the decreased activity of the causes that produce death.

Man's rational agency thus enters as a fractional element into the grand sum of elements, and the inscrutable system of causes, effects, and adjustments which work out the alternating phases of his increase and decrease, in different localities, which are but the local ebbs and floods of the great and comparatively stable general sum of human life on the earth, the increase and the decrease of which are governed by those general and complex conditions and laws that include all the minor conditions and laws that govern the increase and the decrease of national populations, to which alone the current theories of population apply; and, though containing valuable principles and truths, are of little value in illustrating the conditions and laws that govern the general

sum of human life on the earth. Both the local and the general rate of increase and number of mankind are limited, in common with every other species of the animal creation, by the strictly adjusted and governing laws of birth and death: no more can appear, or can remain there, than these permit.

Of the earth's surface about one fifth only is habitable to man, while its whole surface, sterile mountains, deserts, marshes, icy plains, rivers, lakes, and oceans, water, land, and air, everywhere teem with animal and vegetable life, the greatest possible multiplication of which seems to be among the great laws of creation, the power of reproduction in both the animal and the vegetable increasing as they descend in the scale of organization and become more simple in structure and function, while a large proportion of the earth's crust, to the depth of many strata beneath us, is made up, in a great measure, of the remains of once living bodies belonging to the lowest and most minute orders of the organic creation, whose agency has produced results vastly greater and more enduring than those produced by the agency of the animal world above them. Even the vegetable creation occupies a far greater portion of the earth's surface, elaborates a far greater sum of

force, originates a far greater amount of action, and plays a far wider part in the physical and vital economy of the earth, than man. The animal world below him, including the insect and the microscopic animaculæ, effect by the power of numbers far greater changes in the physical conditions of its surface, their remains entering largely into the composition of earth's rocks, mountains, and continental masses, and their living agency forming a sum of force, action, and effect far greater than his, and as essential in the physical and vital economy of the world.

The dead, inert objects of nature around us are instinct with the living forces, and alive with the restless activities of diminutive and microscopic animal forms, ever busied in producing a sum of transforming movement, effect, and change, compared to which the action and effect of human agency would appear tame, tardy, and powerless, could they both be seen and compared; and, could the comparison extend over and embrace the whole earth, how relatively insignificant would appear the sum of man's agency within this sphere of his existence, which he too often vainly imagines as constructed in reference only to his own being, aims, and ends!

But as his vision has been limited in reference to his own wants and works, and to the small place that he fills in the infinite to which creation goes above and below him, to that degree it fails to convey to him the insignificance of the sum of his own being and agency in the physical and vital economy of even the earth, relatively to the sum of animated being and agency that surround him.

From the lowest to the highest animal, up through all the grades of mankind; from the most abased to the most elevated, all form, in their action upon the materials of the earth, one connected system to which man as truly belongs as the lowest. All act upon, appropriate, and apply, the materials around them; and mould them into new forms, according to their respective degrees, of an intelligence and ability that are made up of elements belonging to the same system of mind and body endowment, rising in man to faculties that extend their action over the range of visible creation, and that aspire to trace the laws and workings of nature, powers that rise to the truths and obligations of morality and religion, and, on angel wings, reach, in their aspirations, and hopes, to an immortal life and to God.

From the insect to man, all leave the traces

of their workmanship on the earth; from the microscopic labors of some, through ascending degrees of magnitude, to those that visibly stud the earth with all the variously sized and formed objects of animal production; thence upward from the hollowed earth, the bark hut, and skin tent, of the rude man, through all the ascending degrees, in size, form, and perfectionment, of his constructions, to the mansion, village, city, church, and palace, up to the sublime creations of his highest-cultivated powers, in all the departments of human production.

The great range, the varied conditions, vicissitudes, and characters, the oscillations, depressions and elevations of human attainment and production, are but necessary consequences of, and are proportioned to, the relatively high faculties, active energies, and wide range of the human mind, as the fixed character and narrow range of the conditions, habits, and productions of animals result from the lower station they occupy in the same mental system from which his mind receives its endowment in common with theirs, which exhibits manifestations of all the emotions, affections, feelings, impulses, and desires that characterize him, as well as the higher attributes of memory, imagination, and also reason, as apparent in the

varying adaptations of their means to the varied circumstances under which they may be placed, and the varied ends they may desire to gain, for the purposes of safety, comfort, enjoyment, &c., often with an almost human intelligence of adaptation and variation to meet the wants, emergencies, or changes of their position.

They are thus in their own inferior degree and manner common participators with him, in even the most elevated of vital results on the earth,—mind, co-tenants, and laborers, the humbler products of whose lower intelligences form a mighty sum, as essential in the economy of the earth, as are the prouder products of his higher mental endowments.

To many of their higher orders he is linked by numerous relationships and dependencies essential to his welfare, to his rise and progress in civilization, and even to his existence; while the most minute orders of both vegetable and animal life are among the active accessories and co-workers with him in carrying on the processes through which he obtains many of the results and products of art, to different degrees valuable or indispensable to his progress and welfare. Teeming throughout every department of nature, penetrating all of its re-

cesses, infesting even the tissues, ducts, circulatory vessels, and fluids, of both plants and animals, and entering into all solids and liquids, they perform most important functions in the organic and inorganic kingdoms. To the presence and action of many of their orders, are, according to recent researches, and the most able histological investigators, to different degrees due, every species of fermentation, decomposition, and transformation that occur in nature, or that are induced in the arts; in many of the processes of which, man applies and controls their agency for the accomplishment of specific ends of his own, as unconscious of their presence and action, and of the special functions they perform and life they realize for their own specific ends, as they are of his. Yet each order has as special functions, modes of existence, spheres of action, and orders of results, to fulfil as he.

The action of some, according to recent investigations, entering into the production of alcohol, gin, rum, absynthe, beer, vinegar, also into the coagulation of milk for the formation of cheese, and into innumerable other artificial and natural products; others into the decomposition and decay of nearly all vegetable and animal substances, the slow decompositions of

which, if not thus hastened by the living action of a microscopic world of life, would cumber the earth, and resist the ordained course and rate of disunion, circulation, and recombination of their constituent elements into new forms and for new purposes. Indeed, every animal and vegetable organism, from the highest to the most humble and minute, is engaged from birth to death in the production of special chemical and mechanical results, essential to the ordered conditions, harmonies, and adjustments of physical nature, as adapted to the requirements of man, and all other forms of life.

Nor have they been created only in reference to him, but have as special a mission and end of their own to fulfil in reference to themselves, as has man in reference to himself; as is evidenced in the innumerable forms of animal and even vegetable life that existed myriads of ages before his creation, and in the innumerable others now in existence, that never have been nor will be of any benefit to him, unless as co-workers with him, in unconsciously preserving the balanced and ordained harmonies and adjustments of certain physical conditions and adaptations, essential in various degrees to his and to their existence and welfare.

Of parasitic animals, the species of which

number more than one half of the species of the animal kingdom, and even of vegetable parasites, many different varieties have their habitat within and upon his body; the different viscera, the brain, lungs, liver, heart, bladder, the cellular and muscular tissues &c., each being subject to the presence of specific species of entozoa, who there live, multiply, and draw their nourishment from the fluids of the body, the ova of some of the species being distributed through the circulatory vessels to different parts of the organism, where they find the nidus of their development and growth. Several species of parasitic animals, and also vegetables, infest the surface of the body; the former burrowing under the skin, or making their home in its follicles, tissues, or cuticle; the latter also attacking the surface, the mouth, stomach &c.; both entozoa and surface species of the former, often committing upon him visible ravages that set at defiance all his powers to check, and inflict upon him some of the most loathsome and painful diseases to which he is liable. Nor do the evils they cause him end here: recent investigations and deductions have led more or less positively to the conclusion, that many definite affections that have been known and treated for centuries, and many of the most common

and dangerous maladies that have been and that still are attributed by popular and even by professional theories, to other agencies, more or less indefinite, are in reality, although offering no visible indication of their presence, either directly or indirectly, the results, to a greater or less degree, of those invisible animal agencies, while it is impossible to limit the extent to which epidemic and endemic diseases may be due to their action.

Man and the lowest and most minute orders of the animal world, as well as the higher, however widely they may differ in character and range of development and action, are thus, more or less closely or vaguely, united in one and the same system of mutual relationships, antagonisms, and dependencies, and of vital physical and mental being, activities, aims, and ends, of infinitely varied character and range; while between the higher orders and man there exist close and endless similitudes in structure, mind, aims, and ends.

Some of their varieties, like different races of mankind, even adopt each other's mode of life, often adapting themselves to new conditions at variance with their organic adaptations and previous modes of life. Many of their varieties, like different races of mankind, migrate from

continent to continent, locality to locality, habitat to habitat, and continually intrude upon each other's spheres of existence and means of subsistence; either dominating, expelling, or exterminating, preceding or indigenous varieties, races, or occupants weaker or less favorably adapted to the region they occupy.

The relative proportions of the earth's surface that man, and that the animal world below him, respectively occupy, and the relative proportions of its materials that he and that they respectively appropriate, and transform into their own peculiar products, are determined by causes as equally uncontrollable to him as to them, and are probably within certain limits unchangeable. Every organic form by which it has been tenanted has been organized as closely in reference to it as has man, and it has been as equally organized in reference to them as to him.

But as far as he transcends them in his organization and capabilities, does he rise above them in the scheme of animated nature; in the powers of language developed into speech and literature; in the recognition of the beauty and beneficence of creation and of the presence and workings of its divine architect, of which not one of them is cognizant; in the degree to which he subordinates them to his uses; and

in the higher order of results he elaborates from the materials, forces, and conditions that surround him.

He alone finds in the mineral deposits of the earth, as in the natural and artificial products of its surface, and in the latent forces they embody, the elements of civilization, art, and science. He moulds the firmest materials and textures into infinitely varied mechanical combinations and adaptations, and awakens into activity the subtle energies that give them movement and efficiency. At his pleasure he flashes his living thoughts along electric lines of communication, through space, from point to point, continent to continent, and through ocean depths to commune with distant minds. His commerce explores every ocean and earth's remotest limits; interchanges the material and intellectual products, and circulates the ideas of its different quarters; and links together, by many relationships of fraternity and interest, the different families of mankind. He traces in the structure and fossil remains of the strata of the earth, and in the geological aspects and conditions of its surface, the records of its past history, and of past animal and vegetable forms; investigates the properties and conditions of the material and immaterial crea-

tion ; penetrates into the invisible realms of its minute structures, and reaches beyond the confines of earth into the depths of space, among the distant phenomena of the universe, as far as his artificial powers of vision and means of investigation can go ; and ever aspires to a still advancing knowledge of the mysteries that environ him.

With the elevated aspirations, the profound reach that belong to the aggregate labors of his higher conditions, he has appropriated sea and land, and strown the hills and the valleys with the products of his workmanship. Ploughed fields and waving crops, city and village, hut and palace, church and fortress, and every work of his hand, every fence that he sets, each tree that he plants and house that he builds, the vehicle he rides in, and every vessel that floats on river or ocean, are the connecting textures of the mighty works wherewith he has adorned the earth ; moulding its elements into combinations of beauty and utility, acting upon them, and acted upon by them ; he and they reciprocally producing upon each other just the effects, and eliciting just the consequences, their mutual constitutions and conditions and nicely adjusted fitness and relations to each other are equal to, his constitution and theirs being equally beyond their respective control.

Plants and animals long subjected to the aid supplied by human intelligence slowly improve, but again relapse into their original condition, when left to their own inherent powers, and vary in degrees of perfectionment as accident places them under natural conditions favorable or unfavorable to their improvement. While some are perfecting, under the assistance of human ingenuity, others once so improved are shrinking back into their original state of inferiority, so soon as left to their own powers.

Man has no extrinsic aid of a superior intelligence beside him on earth, acting upon his progress, the degrees of perfectionment he reaches in every part of his economy, his *physique*, morals, religion, intellect, vary as the natural plant or animal, according as the circumstances under which he lives are favorable or unfavorable to his improvement. Every mode of education supposes it, acts upon the principle, and seeks by the appliances of good examples, precepts, circumstances, and conditions, so to work upon the natural powers of the child as to give them a proper direction, a favorable development, and takes it for granted that they will run into disorder when the external influences acting upon them are bad.

The inborn character of those powers, and

the inborn tendency to favorable or to unfavorable development that may belong to them, are the starting-points of further development, the direction of which will be determined by this character and tendency, this primary intrinsic condition of the child, and by external conditions and causes, and by that principle of parental care and that system of social adjustment that supplies good influences, and which have been alike determined by the same class of influences.

Whatever future circumstances and conditions, or some yet unrevealed law of nature, may do, to permanently elevate the human family, they appear as incapable, through their own intrinsic powers and efforts, of improving their nature to a standard above what surrounding conditions and influences, past and present, give it, as a man is of lifting himself up in his own arms.

CHAPTER V.

POWERS OF IMPROVEMENT OF DIFFERENT RACES, PAST AND PRESENT.

MINDS of a literary or a scientific turn, that too exclusively dwell upon the elevated attainments of mankind, are apt to attribute to man a more elevating tendency than belongs to him. Living and moving in the midst of all that modern civilization has realized in the higher departments of human effort, and seeing through the obscurity of ages only the shadowy and fragmentary remains of what ancient civilization accomplished, they are prone to attribute to human nature a principle of progression to superior development and conditions, a greater present perfectionment and a higher power and capability of attainment than belonged to it in ancient times.

But those that contemplate, not only what has been realized in the higher departments of human advancement, or what a relatively few superior minds have accomplished, but the

whole scheme, and all the realities of human existence, with the great proportional amount of ignorance and vice, poverty and suffering, that exist in even the highest modern civilization, and the small space, the narrow limits, filled by what pertains to elevated and elevating pursuits, acquirements, and results compared to those filled by all else that belongs to human aims, pursuits, and results, will make a very different estimate of human progress.

We turn with pride and hope to the improvements of our age, and point to the achievements and promises of art, science, religion, and philanthropy, and predict the permanence of their elevating action and effects upon human intellect and character, and count on their power of advancing and sustaining mankind to a high and still ascending point of comparative perfectionment. But the attainments of antiquity, its arts, sciences, literature, and other departments of intellectual and material advancement of which we have a knowledge, might with equal force have been counted upon as a means of permanently elevating mankind, and advancing and sustaining to a high and still ascending point of comparative perfectionment the mental faculties, and the conditions, immediately connected with those attainments. Yet

the portions of mankind by whom these attainments were realized have been sunken for ages into different degrees of barbarism and ignorance. And the intellectual preëminence, the supremacy of mind, attributed by us to our age and civilization, as manifested in the intellectual character of their acquirements, will be as unequal to stay the changing tide, the ebbs and floods of human condition, to stay mankind at a high point of advancement or to save them from reacting from it when gained, as were the preëminence and supremacy of mind manifested in the known attainments of antiquity unequal to those ends in that day.

Upon what ground shall we found the claims of our age, our race, and our civilization to a superior destiny, to a more permanent and elevating perfectionment, to a future ameliorating action upon humanity, or regard them as the starting-point to a higher career and a more permanent state of perfectionment for the human race, when all the finer attributes that make up the human being, strength and beauty of form in the tenement, strength and refinement of character, of intellect, feelings, sentiments, sympathies, and emotions among its mental endowments and manifestations, are found equally the properties of races sundered

widely from ours, as to origin, to influencing conditions, and to degree and character of civilization.

The attainments, progress, direction, and promises of modern Western civilization, which have furnished the principal data upon which are founded our current theories of human progress and perfectibility, and our hopes for the permanent amelioration, advancement, and elevation of the human family, are but recent results, worked out by races newly emerged from barbarism,—races which, in many of the attributes that give superiority to human character, to nations, to man, are excelled by many other masses of mankind in different quarters of the earth. Perfectionment in the physical development, which is regarded as an accompaniment or expression of perfectionment in the mental constitution, is found to prevail with all its attributes of strength, activity, and beauty, in a far higher degree among other masses of mankind inferior to us in civilization and progress, and to whom we attribute a low standard of enlightenment, while it is found in an equal degree among the rude masses or races of every section of the earth.

“Every day,” says La Martine, the distinguished Asian traveller, “faces are met with, such as Raphael never pictured even in his

artist dreams." Leyard alludes to groups of Kurds whom he met near Nineveh, as "among the noblest specimens of tall, brawny men, handsome women, and beautiful children, he had anywhere seen." The author of "Boat-life on the Nile," frequently notices "the splendid physical development and great beauty and grace of many of the inhabitants, Arabs, Copts, Fellahs, and blacks of Egypt, and writes, in reference to even a group of Nubians, "They were black, but with sharply cut features and beautiful eyes. They are as fine a looking people as the world can produce. There was among them one girl who was exceedingly beautiful." Recent African travellers allude also to Arab, Fezan, and other women of the interior of that country as "beautiful in form and features," to the Arab women in one town in Soudan, as "really beautiful." To the Fallatahs of Madura as "a very handsome race." Livingstone describes the Caffers as "tall, muscular, and well-made, energetic and brave, and as fully meriting the character given them by military authorities, of being magnificent savages; showing by their splendid physical development, and form of skull, that, but for their black skin and woolly hair, they would take rank among the foremost of Europeans." Even the bushmen of some

sections of central Africa, he represents as "well-developed, finely formed, manly, and independent," and the men of some families of the race as "tall, strapping fellows." Anderson, in his work on the Okavango River, describes the bushmen of that region as "stout well-fed, good-looking fellows." Denham and Clapperton allude to the black women of Medura as "proverbial for their good looks," and to many of the women of Bornou as "very handsome and beautifully formed." Barth was struck, he writes, "with the beauty and symmetry of the female forms, which were entirely exposed, and by the regularity of their features, in some of which he found nothing of the negro type."

Even the native races of New South Wales, so generally represented as of the lowest type, are, in the narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, favorably represented as regards physical character and intelligence; while most of the Pacific Islands are, as stated by the same authority, "occupied by fine, athletic races, often above the ordinary size; the inhabitants of the Tonga group presenting some of the best specimens of the human family, and as large a proportion of fine-looking people as is to be found in any por-

tion of the earth, their countenances being generally of the European cast, and their women remarkable for personal beauty."

Catlin, who spent years among tribes then unreached by the degrading contact and vices of our civilization, dwells, in the language of enthusiasm, on those denizens of the wilderness of our country, as affording "models equal to those from which the Grecian sculptors copied their exquisite forms of grace and beauty." He declares, that "the thousands of living models of elegance by which he was surrounded was an unceasing cause of excitement to him, as he contemplated the graceful forms, and the daily feats that vied with those of the Grecian youths in the Olympic Games." To most of the Kansas tribes he attributes "a European style of feature and a bold Roman outline, signally worthy the notice," he says, "of the inquiring world." So he pronounces the Ossages the tallest men, either native or foreign, of North America.

Travellers innumerable have added their testimonies to these proofs of the existence of a high physical development, with all its attributes of perfectionment, in every portion of the earth, among all the various divisions of mankind, and through every degree and character of civiliza-

tion; warranting the conclusion, that the true average types or forms of physical development belonging to the different varieties of mankind approach very much nearer to a common standard than is indicated by the extreme specimens presented by ethnographers as the distinguishing types of the respective varieties.

The remains of antiquity, the records of history and of time, and innumerable minds of a high and reliable order, undeniably testify to the existence of distinguishing social, political, and moral conditions, excellencies, and advantages, at various periods, in various parts of the earth, among various races and peoples, and in various forms and degrees of civilization; and warrant the assumption of an average prevalence of the elements of human happiness and elevation, human suffering and degradation, throughout every age, every mode and degree of civilization, and, with few exceptions, irrespective of particular race. Nearly every different race, every different mode and degree of civilization, and every different period, equally may be, under adverse conditions, deficient in those elements; and so they equally may, under favoring conditions, abound in them.

In the eastern world, during many ages, among many nations and races, and under many forms

and degrees of civilization, man has manifested his highest attributes, and realized some of his highest conditions, as evidenced in the existence of highly organized forms of government and systems of religion, moral codes, and social institutions, perpetuated through periods of duration never reached in western civilization; deep religious sentiment infused into manners, institutions, laws, usages, and even the minor duties of life; immense wealth, and corresponding degrees of luxury and refinement; dignified ease and grace of manners; refined and elevated sentiments; all the sterner, more noble and chivalric virtues; all the finer instincts and sensibilities, which find their satisfaction in music, poetry, the beauties of nature, and other sources of enjoyment, that appeal to pure, elevated, or unsophisticated tastes.

When we turn to the civilizations and races of China and Japan, which embrace one third of the human family, we find them, equally with the civilizations and races of the West, in possession of an average share of the great elements of national welfare and happiness, which are there as elsewhere continually rising and declining in degree and influence, and varying in form, and mode of application, according to prevailing conditions, and are the results of forms of civiliza-

tion, equalling in many respects and excelling in some, those of Europe; worked out by races distinct from the races and uninfluenced by the civilizations of the West.

The missionary, Froes, pronounces the Japanese as gifted a people as any in Europe. Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, declares they surpass in virtue and probity all other nations hitherto discovered. Oliphant asserts, that, "in every department of crime, there is reason to believe the amount of grave offences committed against society is less in proportion than in any other country; that it is impossible to compare their general social well-being with that of any other people and not admit that they gain by the contrast." All authorities agree in attributing to them a refined and an enlightened civilization, manifested in the successful culture of many of the sciences; an advanced state of the arts carried, in some of their branches, to greater perfection than in Europe; a general prevalence of education, intelligence, fondness for reading, frugality, and habits of cleanliness among all classes; among the higher orders, literary tastes, a fastidious politeness, ideas of honor carried to excess, refined habits of mind in matters of taste and sentiment, and great proficiency in some departments of æsthetics. Oliphant asserts that no

model estate in England can produce ornamental cottages at all comparable to those that adorn the environs of Jeddo, and the exquisite taste of which filled him, he says, with delight. Woman is also given there a position more in accordance with European views on the subject, and is even found, as with us, taking a place among the literary writers of her country.

La Place, in contrasting the tranquillity and good humor which he observed among the dense population that crowds the Canton River, with what he terms the brutality and coarseness so common to the lower orders among many European nations, declares, that, although the state of the arts and sciences is in China much as it was a century ago in Europe, the Chinese were very much our superiors in that which frees the majority of men from the brutality and ignorance which, in many European nations, mark the lower classes of society.

Of the vast population of that empire, nearly every man can read and write. Their great love of order; subjection to law; regard to the ties of kindred, to age, and to the memory of the dead; general sobriety, industry, intelligence, and frugality of the lower classes; absence of feudal rights and privileges; dependence of rank and consideration upon cultivated talent; little com-

parative respect paid to wealth alone; great distribution of landed property; aversion to war; relative superiority of civil to military rank and authority; extreme refinement in the usages of social intercourse; general prevalence of literary tastes and habits; high distinction accorded, from the remotest period, to the literary; extensive collections in every department of literature; great attention to statistics, and their wide dissemination among all classes; a highly consistent, business-like penal code; a methodized system of administration and police; and a moral code unsurpassed by that of any other people or age, — these are all among the conditions and elements that belong to an advanced civilization, and among the most valuable of those that constitute the true welfare and happiness of a people.

Even in the writings of travellers among comparatively rude and savage communities in every quarter of the earth, of every race, and under every form of social life, glowing pictures of prosperity, enjoyment, and happiness, and striking instances of all that is most generous, elevated and noble in sentiment, motive and conduct, continually occur. Black tribes, of many sections of Africa, are represented as possessing supplies of food, degrees of leisure, and means of enjoyment, “which,” says Livingstone, — one of the

closest and most just of observers, — “is, to one who has seen the hard toil of the poor in old civilized countries, a life of glorious ease.” The humane and considerate hospitality, kindness, and assistance which, during his extensive travels, he everywhere met with from the natives, as have innumerable other explorers whose intercourse with them was governed by a benevolent and kindly spirit, are not to be exceeded. The half-civilized races of portions of Asia, of Europe, and of America; the rude denizens of the desert, of the Polar regions, the islands of the ocean, and the wilderness of America, afford equally striking examples of the same character, furnished by observers, and founded upon testimony so reliable as to fully warrant the assertion, that happy conditions and elevated attributes, depressed conditions, abasement and suffering, accompanying or alternating with each other during periods more or less lengthy, exist wherever mankind are found.

Were well adjusted and adapted conditions, valuable ends and enjoyment, happiness and welfare, in the life of society, nations, and peoples, realized only during their culminating phase of maturity, or only in their higher stages of development, the human family would indeed be a sorrowful creation. But all

of the different successive stages in the progress of development, from lower to higher conditions and functions, to that of maturity, and then again through the successive stages of decline, in every order of organic and inorganic existence, and in every species of organization, are equally perfect in their conditions and adjustments, as adapted to the ends they were intended to subserve in the cycle of development and decay, and in the economy of nature, equally important phases in the circling transmutations of the materials and forces, equally special aims and ends in the circle of changes which constitute development and decay, and equally indicate the peculiar conditions, combinations, relations, and functions through which portions of the materials and forces of the universe of which they are equivalents, are thus passing in their never-ending transmutations.

And every stage or phase in the existence of the individual human being, through the whole cycle of development, maturity, and decline, from infancy to old age, is equally perfect in its conditions and adjustments, as adapted to the ends it was intended to subserve in the life and economy of the individual, and equally yields its average share of an enjoyment, a happiness and benefits, suited the period of life,

and fulfils equally important ends in the cycle of the individual existence. So every stage or phase in the existence and progress of communities, nations, peoples, throughout the whole cycle, and under every degree, of their development, maturity, and decline, is equally perfect in its conditions and adjustments, as adapted to the ends it was destined to subserve in the life and economy of communities, nations, and peoples, and equally yields its average share of an enjoyment, a happiness and benefits, suited to the phase, and fulfils equally important ends in the cycle of their existence, and in the general economy of mankind.

• Endless testimony could be adduced, to warrant the belief that the main elements and conditions that give elevation to human character, society and happiness, may, and do, as often prevail in what we deem the lower forms of civilization, as they do in our own, and in varied degrees, not greatly differing, if at all, from the varied degrees that prevail in ours. The same elements, faculties, endowments, and functions being everywhere existent among mankind, all the different degrees and modes of civilization, being made up of compensating differences, whereby every fact or condition in any mode or degree, that acts favorably or un-

favorably upon society in one direction, is associated with, or gives rise to its compensating opposite in some other direction, and thus equalizes, throughout every mode and degree of civilization, human character and happiness, and the fluctuations to which these are subject, to the average standards that belong to, and which are limited by the elements and capabilities of human nature, and as often confer upon a rude and barbarous people as upon a more refined one, the elevating conditions and attributes of humanity, which either people may or may not possess to degrees sufficient to raise them above, or to maintain them at their attained point of elevation.

Through the operation of elevating conditions and attributes the rude and barbarous in every age have risen to refinement and power and through their operation nearly every civilized nation of the present has been developed from a state of rudeness. So, from the operation of lowering conditions and attributes, the most enlightened nations of the past have sunk into barbarism and extinction ; and the most civilized nations of the past, as well as those of the present, have had periods in their existence, when suffering, misery, vice, and disorder prevailed to the fullest limits of human endurance.

The mental and physical, social and domestic sufferings to which the most civilized nations are subject, from foreign and domestic wars, from revolution, disorder, and all other causes, are probably equal to the suffering to which savage or unenlightened communities—even when possessing, like the Arctic Indians, the fewest possible elements of enjoyment—are subjected from the peculiar evils incident to their conditions, and which are relatively few in number, as, the more complicated the organization of society becomes, the more complex and numerous become its evils and consequent sufferings, as well as its benefits and enjoyments. Thus communities and nations, whether enlightened or the reverse, equally realize their alternating phases of disorder and suffering, of prosperity and enjoyment; and refined and enlightened nations not less frequently sink into decay and extinction from the operation of lowering conditions and attributes, than rude and unenlightened nations rise to refinement and power, through the operation of elevating ones.

That rude and barbarous races and communities do rise to civilization and refinement, and that civilized society has originally slowly grown from those crude conditions of human-

ity, though small increments of advancement, during successive periods, there is every warrant to conclude. Every portion of the earth now occupied by civilization, has been previously occupied by rude indigenous races. These may in every instance, during the latter periods of human history, have failed in different degrees to work out, unaided, their own elevation and civilization; receiving the germs of these more or less from preceding civilizations, from the nations or races with whom they came into contact, or by whom they were conquered. Though conquered and ruled by other races, indigenous races—according to a generally conceded law of ethnography—never die out, but are perpetuated by local causes, tending to specific forms of development, and gradually absorb or assimilate—with the aid of those causes—the infused and enlightened races by whom they are conquered, and become, thus themselves enlightened. Italy, Spain, Britain, Germany and other countries, may now be thus peopled by races who have, from those local causes, preserved their identity with the indigenous races by which their respective localities were originally tenanted; and when conquered, may have absorbed and assimilated the conquering and infused races, who communicated to them the *germs* of the incivilization.

Rude and even savage communities, with few exceptions, possess to some degree the latent elements of a higher condition. Some may be tending more or less strongly to civilization, some be actually rising into it; others may be sinking into decay and extinction, from a once civilized condition; others may possibly be portions of the human family that have never risen above their original state of rudeness. So, also, all civilized nations, and perhaps races, are either in process of rising into fuller development, or pausing at their culminating height, or tending more or less rapidly to decay or to extinction.

When we seek for evidences of the progressiveness of human nature to superior development and conditions, in a comparison between the attainments of past and of present civilizations and races, we are met by proofs from every age, even the most remote, of a reach of attainment in various departments of intellectual and material production, unsurpassed in the productions of the present age. In architecture, the fine arts, or literature, the ancient nations and races of India, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, of Asia, Africa, Europe and, in some respects, America, have sent down to us through ages, specimens unsurpassed by the nations and races of modern Europe. While these were involved

in barbarism and ignorance, other races and nations in different parts of the earth were realizing a high degree of civilization and refinement. Arabia, Persia, and other countries of the east, were flourishing in the enjoyment of a national grandeur, and of a literary renown, that still give a poetic coloring to their history.

China had attained her culminating height in poetry and literature, and a civilization in many respects superior to that of the great civilized nations of the West, during a far more recent age. Cheap paper, printing, literature, and books had spread a taste for reading, and had led to the dissemination of education among the whole population at a very early period. Allusions to ancient systems of education as requiring all towns and villages to support common schools, are found in works written before the Christian era. Centuries prior to this period, her arts and sciences too had, as well as her literature, reached their most flourishing condition. Indeed her highest perfectionments in the different attainments of social and national life that at present most favorably distinguish her people can be traced into a hoary antiquity.

The remains of ancient art in Egypt, and the investigations of many able and scientific travellers, prove the early existence there of an

advanced civilization, a matured system of government, and a highly developed state of the arts and sciences, including sculpture, painting, writing, mathematics, astronomy; the rearing of structures, which, for their grandeur and extent, are among the wonders of the world. The practice of nearly all the trades, which, with their implements and tools, similar, many of them, to those now in use, are still to be seen pictured on their monuments in colors undimmed by the passage of ages. Her oldest extant monuments and sculptures, which belong to the fourth dynasty, the first king of which Lepsious places at beyond 3000 B.C., evidence great perfection in the arts. Remains of her literature, poems, decrees, contracts, account-books, chronological tables, histories, romances, scientific essays, etc., written on papyra and dating from the fourth dynasty through succeeding generations, exist in immense numbers in the various libraries of Europe.

Her architectural remains, in the vastness of their proportions, in the massiveness of their materials, in the solidity of their construction, in the profuseness of their sculptures, and in the evidences they bear of great national wealth and power, are unequalled in the architectural productions of modern ages. There do they

stand, the gigantic wrecks of a civilization which belongs to an era to which we assign the infancy of mankind, and the earliest stages of their advancement. There do they stand in reproof of the assumed superiority of the present age, the assumed improvement of the human species and of human capabilities; and in denial of the theory of human advancement to perfectibility, commanding, from all who contemplate their colossal proportions and matchless grandeur, feelings of admiration, surprise, and even wonder and awe, expressed in the strongest terms of enthusiasm of which language is susceptible, by such men as Champolion, Denon, Belzoni, and a host of other able explorers, who were familiar with all that had been accomplished in modern architecture.

Champolion writes, "If I drew even a faint sketch of the gigantic conceptions by which I was surrounded, I should be taken for an enthusiast, perhaps for a madman. No people ever conceived the art of architecture on so sublime a scale as the ancient Egyptians: their conceptions were those of men a hundred feet high." Of the ruins of Elephantine, a late traveller writes, "The temples and palaces surpassed in splendor all the fables of antiquity. No wealth could again rear such buildings, no

nation of modern times, with all the wealth of modern days, could erect one such temple, much less the hundreds that crowd this sacred island."

The assumption so commonly applied to some of the most gigantic works of antiquity, of their bearing evidence of the degradation and oppression of the masses of the nations by whom they were constructed, is probably unwarranted by the little that is known of the conditions, wants, and aims of those remote periods, particularly as they are accompanied by works of great national utility, equally grand in design and proportions, — canals, aqueducts, public roads, bridges, etc. The colossal works of modern art are accepted as indications of national wealth and power, not of degradation and oppression.

Whatever comparison may be drawn between the attainments of the past and of the present, or between those of European and other existing civilizations and races, refinement and high advancement in the material products of civilization are subordinate conditions in human happiness and welfare. The great aim of civilization, the great fact to be realized in human advancement, is the perfectionment of the social, political, and moral conditions of man; the perfectionment of the

varied relations between man and man, and the greatest distribution and diffusion of well-being.

But it may be questioned, whether those ends are more fully realized under one degree and form of civilization than under another. Whether each form and degree does not equally excel in some, and fail in other, of the conditions essential to the attainment of some of those ends, each having equally its periods and phases of general prosperity and well-being, and each equally realizing those conditions, when and to the degree to which the different component classes of its society obtain such a share of the current benefits of life as accord with and satisfy their respective mental conditions and standards, whatever degree of civilization these may represent, and in whatever quarter of the earth those benefits may be worked out. For although the great centres of civilization, enlightenment, and wealth have in every age, grown up within certain limits of latitude, and depend in a great degree upon soil, climate, position, etc., every habitable quarter of the earth is equally the ordained and adapted abode of man, and equally susceptible of yielding him an average amount of happiness

and welfare irrespective of degrees and forms of civilization.

A high advance in civilization, and in all that tends to class-elevation, or that gives rise to instances of high individual attainment, is too generally the accompaniment, or the precursor of a decrease in the amount and fair distribution of well-being, of the means of enjoyment, and of power, realized by the many relatively to the few. A nation may be advancing in all the higher conditions of civilization, refinement, art, science, literature, and in instances of great individual attainment, while her masses are sinking in all that is elevated or elevating in the conditions that constitute a high general prosperity and enlightenment.

That high reach of individual attainment, that belongs to a high civilization, to great national advancement, enlightenment, and refinement, is a consequence not only of these, but also of a concentration of wealth and power; and this concentration is only the result of that advanced degree of civilization that is accompanied by great social inequalities. The relationships and proportions that these favorable and unfavorable conditions bear to each other in the social economy, and their workings and results there cannot be generalized: they meet and

mingle under infinitely varied relations and proportions to each other, with infinitely diversified effects, and under every diversity of social condition.

Communities and nations have ever, under each recurrence of favoring conditions, been reaching, not only after the material and intellectual refinements and wants of life, but also after a better moral, social, and political condition; ever struggling against their errors and vices, their evils and defects, to correct them for the mutual security and welfare. To whatever degree of perfectionment they attain under favoring conditions, under adverse ones they are ever tended by their inherent principles to a downward course. Under circumstances that incite to effort, communities and nations rise by a slow process to certain elevations, from which they as surely react when favoring conditions are weakened or interrupted, by the ignorance, error, poverty, vice, and crime from which, with their lowering fatalities, and with the external conditions and circumstances that tend to lower man nationally and individually, no nation can long be free.

Throughout every age, political, religious and educational reformations or revolutions, bearing upon national conditions and welfare, have.

been hailed as harbingers of a new and an elevating era in the history and destiny of man. But throughout every age, nations and civilizations run their inevitable course of growth maturity and decay, and revolve through the same alternating phases, from different degrees of prosperity, elevation, and quiet, to different degrees of disorder, agitation, and change; from exhausting struggles to periods of repose, until the experiences of past struggles are forgotten, or their reforming effects are obliterated by new evils, which new generations must struggle to remove; or until disturbed by new conditions, which new generations must struggle to re-adjust.

The actual conditions, the poverty, degradation, ignorance, crime, vice, and misery which present themselves in the histories of the most civilized and enlightened communities, accord as illy with the assumption of human progression toward perfectibility, as does the past history of mankind. The modern nations of Europe and of America have generally, it is true, risen with a continued progression, in the standards of their civilization, enlightenment, and prosperity, and in the general mental and material conditions of their masses; though having probably realized, through the whole

progress of their rise to higher conditions, equal average degrees and fluctuations of enjoyment and happiness according with the different standards of enjoyment and happiness prevailing at the different periods and under the different conditions of their rise. But they are nations comparatively new, even their peculiar civilization extending back not many centuries; their more elevated conditions being the result of a course of development from immaturity to maturity,—a maturity to be as inevitably followed by reaction and declension, as has been the maturity of every past civilization and nation; all having run their course through the same succession of phases, from rudeness to enlightenment, power, prosperity, declension, and extinction.

In the most wealthy and enlightened nations of Europe, in the midst of a civilization that assumes for itself a superior destiny, a permanently elevating effect upon humanity, a large proportion of the laboring classes, in the various departments of industry and production, have but little participation in the increase of national wealth and enlightenment, due to the advanced conditions of industry and education. Millions can barely gain, by their greatest efforts, a sufficient supply of the most necessary

means of subsistence ; while an extensive class sink into the deepest mental and physical degradation, from the pressure of extreme destitution.

The constant tendency of civilization is to elevate certain portions of a national population at the expense of other portions. There thus arises, sooner or later, around the laboring poor of even the most prosperous nations, as these advance in civilization and wealth, certain social conditions, beyond the reach or control of legislation, which subject large numbers of that class, with a sure fatality, to extreme poverty, to pauperism and misery, degradation and vice, corruption and crime, until these reach degrees, give rise to consequences, indicate and become the associates or the precursors of social conditions often fatal to the progress and stability, and neutralizing to the benefits and advantages, of civilization ; and, however slowly and fitfully worked out, may be regarded as among the inevitable causes that tend nations and the masses of which they are composed, the civilization they represent, to an ordained deterioration, declension, and ruin.

If there be, among the elements of human nature, a principle of progression to permanently superior development, and comparative

perfectionment, the progression should take place among those masses of mankind whose natures have been most elevated by its operation; consequently, in the most susceptible condition to be acted upon by it, at the most elevated starting-point for a higher attainment. But ancient civilization of a high character, and implying a high development and a high-reaching progression, prevailed among masses of mankind who have since sunk into comparative rudeness and barbarism, instead of having obeyed any law of human progression to perfectibility, or of having elevated themselves to the highest point of attainment belonging to modern civilization, which is carried on, realized, by masses of mankind whose progenitors have not long emerged from a state of rudeness and barbarism that extended back far beyond the period of the most ancient known civilization, and who started in the career of progress with a nature and with powers undeveloped by any previous course of progression which so strongly marked the ancient civilized nations and races, now low in the rank of human progress.

Man's powers and the conditions that surround him have their definite limits as regards their capabilities of acting upon and eliciting

results from each other. There is a general, an average, a mean standard in the physical and mental capacities, capabilities, and conditions of the whole human family, in those of each race, each nation, each community, each individual, all of whom are continually oscillating between points above and below their respective mean standards, according as the influences acting upon them be elevating or lowering. The wider they vibrate from their respective standards, the stronger will be the tendency to reaction in the contrary direction, as surely as the gravitating force brings back the pendulum toward its mean standard with a force proportioned to its departure from it. With individuals, nations, the human family, a departure from the respective mean standard sets to work, with an activity proportioned to its degree, causes that lead to and carry on reaction; in individuals, to be realized, often, only in the offspring; and the different localities and quarters of the earth, with their respective adaptations to different degrees and forms of social development, — savage, nomad, communal, and national, — have their respective capabilities of acting upon, and producing effects upon, human society; and oscillate between conditions to different degrees favor-

able and unfavorable to human welfare and progress; and, according to the extent to which oscillations go in one direction, they bring about reactions in the other, through changes in soil, climate, and other conditions, due to human and other agencies.

No conditions, however high, of national, material, and intellectual development and attainment, can give permanent elevation to the powers and capabilities of the national mind, or secure for them a high starting-point for further future advancement, nor save them from the debilitating and exhausting effects of undue stimuli, excitement and effort, and other lowering conditions of civilization; when by their lowered conditions, and the lowering conditions that surround them, they and society again sink below their average standards, into the sleep of debility; until aroused by renovating changes in their own and in surrounding conditions, they again awake into an elevating activity.

Even the whole human family collectively may have its oscillations, its alternating revolutions of elevation and of depression, in which, energized by favoring conditions and circumstances, it may mature into a more general activity of elevating influences; into higher

national developments; into more general enlightenment, prosperity, and refinement; and then, exhausted and enfeebled by the effort and action, may sink again into a period of retrogression, general decay, and torpidity.

Not only do nations and races circle through alternating phases and varying degrees of civilization and barbarism, but also continents, like localities of the earth, become the alternating theatres of civilization and of rudeness; of a higher or of a lower, a more general or a more partial, enlightenment; a greater or a smaller proportion and degree of rudeness or of refinement. Those oscillations in the conditions of communities, of races, of mankind, and of localities of the earth, are among the regulated laws of creation, and subserve destined and definite ends. Sections of the earth unpeopled by civilized society, lying uncultivated and in fallow, regain the conditions and the fertility lost or impaired by the stimulating and exhausting requirements of civilization, to the prosperity of which they are essential; as man's properly balanced symmetry of body and mind may be restored by his passage through phases of a savage condition after it has been impaired by equally stimulating and exhausting requirements of civilization and refinement

The further future improvement of present enlightened portions of mankind — their further advancement, or their stability in a present point of attainment — will depend upon their future conditions, and upon the wisdom and fidelity with which they turn to their advantage the elevating or the sustaining conditions that may surround them. Whether they be surrounded by elevating conditions in the future, and whether they be endowed with the necessary degree of wisdom and fidelity to turn those conditions to their advantage, will depend upon influences and causes but very partially under human control.

All of the changes, adjustments, and adaptations in the laws and action of society, made to meet its changing conditions, evils, and wants, are but the necessary results or products of the mind, induced and determined by the peculiar conditions that surround it, and which God has willed shall produce upon it certain definite effects, according to the relations he has established between them and it.

All of the reforming, ameliorating, and elevating efforts of benevolence and philanthropy change and vary in degree and direction as the conditions and circumstances from which they arise change and vary, and are entirely unequal

to the mighty scheme of human good and evil, in which they are but elements, entirely unequal to reach over the wide field, or to penetrate into the intricate actions and reactions of human error, vice, and misery ; or to watch over their workings, to mould their complex elements, or to break, even for an instant, the continuity of their downward tension upon society, some portions of which are ever recoiling upon, and retasking the Sisyphus-like endeavor to elevate them.

Evils pressed down in one form and place, will still arise, with Protean facility, in some other form, and some other place ; and while the spirit of reform and amelioration may be laboring with all its activity and enthusiasm, suppressing some particular vices, correcting some errors, and enlightening some portions of mankind, other vices, errors, and sufferings will be eluding observation, and other portions of mankind sinking deeper and deeper into suffering and degradation. And that spirit, infinitely unequal, even in its full energy, to the entire or the permanent reform of the evils of a present period, will, through future ones, successively rise and sink, expire and revive, in energy, and change in character and direction, according to *the changing* phases and conditions of the time

and place, which may arouse it to watchful, pervading activity, or may stifle it in degradation and ignorance, and humanity be there left to run its downward career unchecked.

By many, great and permanent improvement in the conditions of mankind is expected from the increasing diffusion and improvement of education, going on among the masses, and from all the ameliorating influences now operating upon them in some quarters of the earth; but how little does the past history of the world warrant such expectations. In education as in other departments of the social economy, changes are effected by the slow, never-ending revolutions of human retrogression or progress, determined by an infinity of causes that are continually eluding human research, or escaping from human guidance. Systems grow up, change, and pass away, as necessary consequences from causes, the relations and combinations of which are ever varying and producing new results. Nor is national enlightenment, when gained, any guarantee against corruption and decline; it even ripens into maturity many vices and evils.

The proportion of intellectual, relatively to moral, improvement growing out of education, as considered in its fullest sense, is determined

by the proportion of intellectual, relatively to moral, culture, in the national mind ; and varies under various influencing conditions, throughout the various portions of mankind, and throughout different periods ; and may be considered as a fair expression of the relative amounts of morality and of intellect belonging to the nation. According to the moral and intellectual characteristics of the national mind, will be the moral and intellectual characteristics of the influences growing out of its systems of education.

At some period in the history of every age, elevating influences equally great and wide-spread as those now operating, have grown from its conditions, and produced corresponding results. The Greeks were at one time remarkable for their perfection in the fine arts, literature, and speculative philosophy ; the Romans and the Persians for their stern virtues, and the strict inculcation of these in the education of their young ; the Assyrians, Egyptians, and many other known nations, for their respective attainments. Three thousand years ago, many of the highest and most refined arts of life, and many of the highest departments of mind, were carried to points of excellence to which modern attainment is unequal ; and that distant antiquity

presents us, too, with many examples of men unsurpassed in all that elevates and adorns the human character.

Every degree of civilization may manifest itself in many different modes ; every mode and degree may vary in the moral, social, and political influences that aid in producing them, and be made up of equal proportional amounts, and combinations of good and evil, under many different forms. In every period, under many modes of civilization, many forms of religion and of government, masses of mankind, communities and nations, have risen to greatness, refinement, and power ; at no period has any known mode of civilization, or form of religion or of government, preserved them long from the inevitable destiny of communities and nations, from the ordinary vicissitudes of prosperity and happiness, of disorder and suffering, or saved them from final corruption and decay.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR AS AN ELEMENT IN HUMAN CONDITION.

IN the scheme of cause and effect, by which human societies rise and fall, even wars, which play so important a part in the fluctuations of communities and nations, are, with all their abuses, vices, and evils, their moral, legal, and popular supports, among the necessary conditions under which it has pleased God that society should exist, and among the ordained means in bringing about the ever-recurring oscillations that take place in the conditions of mankind, in some instances revolutionizing nations, elevating their conditions and ideas, or correcting internal disorders and evils. Thus civil wars, when occurring to nations untainted by decay, and possessing the elements, however disordered, of fuller development, of self-preservation, and of a normal condition, are generally the regenerating processes through which they pass, to purify themselves from

internal evils, incurable through milder means ; and arise, as necessary results, in regulated periods, and under regulated conditions, in accordance with regulated laws of national existence.

Wars may also aid in amalgamating races, in levelling social and political distinctions, and in redistributing rank, wealth, and power among the different classes ; in disseminating principles, arts, science, and literature ; or in developing a people's strength, increasing their power of resistance, averting their enervation and subjection, and enabling them to run through a fuller course of development to the fulfilment of their higher destiny and purposes. Or they may operate in a reverse direction, lowering the national conditions, introducing anarchy and despotism, and endangering, reducing, or destroying the national liberties, interrupting or arresting the progress of art, science, literature, social and national enlightenment and elevation, or retrograding or destroying them, tending communities and nations to degradation, declension, and extinction, and aiding in working out the fulfilment of that law of creation, according to which communities and nations, like everything else that exists, run their destined course and pass away.

Wars may also, in addition to their other results, aid in subserving in man's economy some of the ends subserved by the predal scheme, in the animal economy below him, according to which each species, from the animalculæ up, form the prey of the stronger above them, through every gradation of animal life to man, who, preying upon all, and the ordained prey of none, is unreachèd by that scheme which aids to check undue increase, to perpetuate the more vigorous, and to energize all of the animal world below him; both human warfare and the predal scheme of the animal world, with the destruction of life, the suffering and apparent evils by which they are attended, being equally consistent with the greatest amount of good, and the highest degree of benevolence, in the order of the moral and physical worlds. War is also a necessary element in the attainment or working out of other conditions and ends in the economy of man, of society, apparently essential to human welfare.

While between communities and nations, it is the great and final umpire before whose stern tribunal and relentless logic they are forced to bow, from whose inevitable decisions there is no appeal, and for whose wrongs there

is no redress except in the avenging retributions that follow wrong. As traced to its ultimate traceable source, war is ever a struggle between conflicting social, political, or religious principles and ideas, social, political, religious, or material interests; and the triumph is, as a general rule, gained by the principles, ideas, and interests that receive, from their superior value to human welfare and happiness, the support of the largest number of minds, and put in movement the greatest amount of force.

Those hostile collisions of races and nations, with all their causes, accessories, and effects, originate as truly from the pre-adjusted, unvarying laws of human condition as do the rush, blending, and effervescence of two chemical elements, with all their results, originate from the pre-adjusted, unvarying laws of chemical action, are as truly the natural and predetermined workings of the scheme of man's national being, as are the chemical actions and transformations, the elemental and cosmical violences, and their results, going on throughout the earth and universe, the legitimate and predetermined workings of the scheme of physical nature.

They result from so many causes beyond man's control, as to reduce to a relatively small

fraction the share his reason has in originating them; the share his mental powers have in their production being far more due to the agency of those powers of the mind that are unreasoning, impulsive, animal, than to those that are intellectual, reasoning; and the most refined civilization has failed as equally as barbarism, to elevate society above the conditions, the passions, vices, errors, prejudices, and interests, that lead to national injustice, unnecessary war, and bloodshed.

In the ruder stages of society, man's wants, interests, knowledge, and pursuits are limited and simple, his means rude and feeble. The spoils of the chase, the waters and the wild plants and fruits of the untilled plain, are the limits of his supply of food and raiment; his muscular powers are the limits of his application of the physical forces; his wigwam, weapons, canoe, and garments are the highest products of his art; war is the field of his highest ambitions and triumphs, the source of his highest honors and rewards, — the sole means by which he carries on his antagonisms for ascendancy in tribe or national life. With the advance of civilization, more extended and varied knowledge, more enlightened and comprehensive views of social well-being, more

complex and momentous interests, more refined and elevated objects of ambition, and sources and forms of honor, glory, and fame, arise; and greater, more varied, complicated, and artificial forces and means, the competitions of industry, art, science, literature, and commerce, are all added to war, and enter as elements into the antagonisms of communities and nations, in their struggle for supremacy, advantage, and welfare, or in combating the conditions that oppose the attainment of their destined aims and ends. Cultivated mind, art, science, literature, and enlightened industry and skill, multiply their products, which commerce interchanges and circulates among the different communities and nations of the earth, bringing these together into more close, friendly, and profitable intercourse and relationships, and commingling, amalgamating, and binding them together by more numerous, varied, and mutual dependencies and interests, and thus operating to the promotion of peace, and the advancement of their enlightenment and welfare; enabling them to work out, with a higher order of means, and to a higher order of results, the great law of antagonism, under which every living organism and organization—from the lowest plant and animal up, with their respective means and

modes of antagonism, to man and nations, with their respective means and modes, and under their different degrees and forms of civilization and of barbarism — struggle for ascendancy and welfare, against opposing organisms, organizations, or conditions. But the points of contact, the conflict of interests, the issues, forces, and means that enter into the struggle for ascendancy, between civilized nations, are so numerous and varied, and give rise to so many disturbing causes, tending to prejudice, complications, and war, as, in a great measure, to compensate and neutralize the more favoring conditions that tend to harmony and peace.

Thus all aggregations of mankind, whether barbarous tribes, enlightened nations, or rude or civilized races, have equally their periods of peace and repose, and of disorder, conflict, and war. And it may be questioned whether the mean general character and spirit of war, and of the treatment of the conquered, that prevail among the different divisions of the human family in its totality, are not in reality, within certain limits, unchangeable, and the same in every age; whether, in fact, wars, with the treatment of the conquered, in their totality throughout the whole human family in the different sections of the earth, did not possess, in

past ages, the same differences and diversities of character and spirit, and degrees of humanity and of cruelty, as they now do.

All of the ancient historical nations and peoples that are best known to us, present, in their histories as transmitted us, the records of a stern and unpitying code of warfare and conquest; and codes equally unpitying and stern still prevail among a large proportion of mankind, and until a comparatively recent period, prevailed among all of the modern nations of Europe. The more humane and benevolent systems of warfare to which modern Christian nations have been for centuries tending, is a necessary result and requirement of their higher and advancing enlightenment, their closer intercourse and international relationship of mutual interests and dependencies growing out of the pursuits of industry, trade, commerce, art, science, and literature.

So, many of the nations and communities of antiquity were likewise engaged in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and closely related to each other in bonds of mutual interest and dependency, and respectively belonged, as the same class of nations now respectively belong, to some particular quarter of the earth, and to some particular divisions of the human family;

and had, too, their periods in which the same tendency to more humane and generous systems of warfare grew out of the same class of causes that are at present producing such results. And then, as in more modern times, that class of more refined and peaceful, industrial and trading nations and communities were subject, in their decadence, or their periods of disorder, to the inroads of more energetic and warlike nations, who not unfrequently introduced their own rude and cruel systems of warfare, to the destruction of the more humane systems of the vanquished.

The prevailing spirit of barbarism, which history records as characteristic of the wars of antiquity, and its comparative silence in regard to refined, industrial, and peaceful nations and pursuits in ancient times, can be no criterion of the proportional numbers of enlightened nations, or the degree of refinement that may then have existed in some portions of the earth, among some portions of mankind. History is more a record of the warlike achievements and the social and political violences of mankind, than of their peaceful, industrial pursuits and attainments. And ancient history has, in its passage to us, passed through periods and phases of barbarism and ignorance that

could neither comprehend nor value, nor be likely to preserve, the records of a peaceful and refined civilization.

Added to which, all of the nations of antiquity of which ancient history was cognizant, were confined to Western Asia, Southern Africa, and Europe. Some of them are known to us only in name, or by tradition; others are vaguely hinted at, whose names even are lost to us; while a large proportion of the earth, embracing extensive sections of the old continents, and both of the new, were unknown to the ancient histories that have reached us, and may have been the scenes of civilization and refinement. Thus innumerable civilized nations unknown to our histories, may, we are warranted in supposing, have existed in ancient times, and have had their periods and phases in which they rose to the peaceful pursuits of industry, trade, and commerce, with their refined and elevating accompaniments and humanizing tendencies to enlightened and generous systems of warfare.

At the present period, the bulk of mankind, comprising great and populous empires, and various peoples and communities, in different quarters of the earth, still wage war, and treat the vanquished with the greatest possible inhumanity. Even the most enlightened modern

Christian nations, when not restrained by the international laws and usages by which they are governed in their relations and action toward each other, — as when in conflict with communities and nations not within the pale, nor under the protection, of those laws and usages, — not unfrequently wage war with the most un pitying inhumanity and injustice. The comparatively recent histories of Mexico, Peru, India, Southern Africa, and innumerable other peoples, present a record of cruelties and wrongs perpetrated by enlightened Christian nations, unsurpassed in the annals of mankind.

The degree to which national masses are governed in their relations to each other by the principles of justice, are ever oscillating, according to their moral conditions, between the highest and the lowest points of national morality, the fluctuations of which are due to a sum of circumstances, conditions, and influences, past and present, that man's reason but little controls.

In every age, the diverse conditions, necessities, and aims of mankind, have divided them into social groups, and aggregated them into tribes, clans, communities, and nations, of varied and diverse habits and interests. In every age and social condition, the estimate that

one nation or group forms of the other is, in the mass, but a sum of prejudices; that which each forms of itself, but a sum of vanity and egotism. False estimate, throughout every age and social condition, remains the great repelling principle between national masses, and still quickens every other principle of hostile action, every other other incitement to aggression and war.

Injustice, prejudice, ambition, love of power, pomp, and parade, vanity, egotism, gain, glory, and fanaticism, with the animal propensities, passions, impulses, and vindictive violences of man's lower nature, that in every age tend to war, and tone and temper the spirit and system of national retaliation and aggression, are fixed elements of human life, that originate from inherent principles of the mind, and are, in character and degree, but slightly modified by, and ever oscillating with, the oscillating conditions, character, and degree of national enlightenment and elevation, national ignorance and barbarism; and, if mitigated by favoring conditions, are ever reacting against the elevating conditions that mitigate them, and upon every receding or declining phase of national existence that permits them to react.

Incitements to the passions of war are also,

under some conditions, a legitimate want of communities and nations, and the nice adjustments which in other departments of existence prevail between wants and supplies, also prevail between the belligerent wants and means of society, and with a happy adaptation to the widest interests of mankind, for the resistance, or for the punishment of national wrong and aggression.

To the degree to which, from the conditions of a period, the belligerent wants of nations are lessened or are increased, will the belligerent elements, propensities, and energies of their masses prevail, and all the accessory sentiments, feelings, opinions, and passions connected with, growing out of, reacting upon, and exciting those propensities, elements, and energies, be more or less strengthened or weakened; also devotedness to country, national prejudice, and partiality, and all that can give intensity to, or that can lessen, national efforts for self-preservation.

Thus in periods, and in national conditions, when adverse war would subject the masses, individually, to bondage and oppression, and the nation to ruin or to extinction, a philanthropist or a moralist, who would by his reflections stay a hand from aiding in the national

defence, or by his expositions of the evils of war dampen a resolution of devotedness, would make an ill-timed, a pernicious, as well as an illy-received effort to benefit the cause of humanity.

There is a principle in every national mass that arouses it to the resistance of wrong and aggression, with an unanimity and energy proportioned to the national sense of injustice or of danger, under the inspirations of which the energies of nations have often been stimulated to the noblest efforts of self-sacrifice and heroism, to punish national injustice, or to resist aggression. There are other principles equally strong, prompting to aggression, war, and conquest, with an unanimity and energy also proportioned to the force of inciting conditions, and under the influence of which the energies of nations have as frequently been turned to desolating scourges, to invasion, subjugation, and oppression.

The disposition that leads mankind to take advantage of, and profit by, the weakness of their fellow men, has its source in the essential attributes of the mind. Nations being formed of individuals, both are mentally made up of the same elements, both run through their respective courses of development, maturity

and decay ; both have their periods of immaturity and weakness, of decay and helplessness ; also of maturity and strength, of activity and action, and both are actuated in those various conditions by sentiments, motives, and principles of action, of the same character. The consciousness of weakness will dispose both to inoffensiveness ; the consciousness of strength, or the power to do, will in both excite the will, and prompt the effort, to reach after advantages with a wide grasp, that will tend both to overreach the limit of right and lead nations to aggression and war.

Among civilized nations, some will condemn wars, moralize upon and offer dissuasives against them. The belligerent propensities, interests, passions, and vices of the masses, that provoke and sustain them, will still prevail. Those who condemn, moralize upon, and offer dissuasives against them, will exert, as a destined means to destined effects, a certain fractional influence upon them, which will but slightly modify the character they receive from the full sum of conditions to which they are due.

Reflections were made, and homilies were written, centuries ago, upon national aggression and war, as wise, forcible, and convincing as they

now are ; and the proportional numbers of those who in some quarter of the earth, among some portions of the human family, moralized upon, deplored, condemned, and opposed them, were as great ; the force and direction of the passions that lead to war continue unchanged by all that has been written, said, and done on the subject ; the diversity of interests, pursuits, ambitions, and desires, that excite those passions, remain as great, the restraints that bind them remain as artificial and as dependent upon circumstances as ever.

In the present period, the European races, with an advanced civilization, prolific in influences that are hailed as harbingers of a permanent advancement and elevation in the conditions of mankind, are engaged in wide-spread, hostile struggles, and scenes of civil and national commotion, disorder, war, and bloodshed, that have disturbed every quarter of the earth ; which in its different portions, among the varied races, nations, tribes, and communities that make up mankind, ever has been the theatre of one continued scene of hostile agony, civil and national commotion, aggression, and war, to a degree and with a continuity that constitute the condition a law of human existence, and which, like the violences of physical nature, we can but


regard as the necessary effects of necessary causes, and as ordained means to ordained ends, declining and reviving in different sections of the earth, in different periods, and among different communities, nations, civilizations, and races, according to prevailing conditions, to degrees of enlightenment and of barbarism, to the fluctuating states and relations of communities, nations, and races.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION AS AN ELEMENT IN HUMAN CONDITION.

IN the presence of the phenomena of creation, the mind rises, by the necessities of its nature, to the recognition of the Divine Author of all that it witnesses. By the same necessity, it experiences toward the Creator its most ennobling and elevating sentiment — piety, the cultivation and the outward expression of which, in varied forms of religious worship, is as essential an element as it is a never-failing one, in the determining conditions of man's individual and national being.

The value of religious systems and observances, considered as the manifestations of an active principle of the mind, and as elements in individual and national welfare, their influence in controlling and moderating human passions and desires, in elevating and sustaining individual and national character, in promoting individual and national welfare, and staying national decline, depend upon the degree of



enlightenment, piety, and virtue by which they are accompanied in the individual and national mind, irrespective, in a great measure, of the particular form or creed, none of which can warrant permanence to any attained degree of moral progress and elevation, since passions, errors, and vices may rob any form of the essential principles that give to religious systems their value, their elevating and reforming power.

As they are thus subject to the influences of human passions, motives, interests, and aims, so according to the higher or to the lower mental conditions of the periods they belong to, and of the minds they embrace, according to the tendencies of their interests and aims, and to their degrees of liberalism or of dogmatism, are they, as a general rule, more or less elevating in their influences upon individual, social, and national character and conditions, and favorable or unfavorable to civil and political liberty, to religious toleration, to the spirit of inquiry, which might question their dogmas, and endanger their authority, and to the progress of knowledge and the advances of science, many a great deduction of which, has, in the course of centuries, in western civilization, more or less disturbed some authoritative as-

sumption or belief they had announced or had sanctioned; and has had to contend against their opposition and censure until the intrinsic truthfulness of the deduction, and the gradual and compelling pressure of the general convictions and progress of the period and community enforced its acceptance.

The hostility and opposition which, with the uniformity of a law, religion under most of its forms has ever manifested toward the spirit of rationalism, has probably its foundation in some fundamental principle or requirement of society and human welfare. The cherished and established opinions and beliefs of mankind, upon which are founded, and with which are intertwined and blended their religious creeds and faith, and their holiest aspirations and hopes, with most of their moralities, need, for the proper fulfilment of their ends, a certain stability and permanence; and however defective, cannot be too violently disturbed, or too rapidly corrected, without injury to some of the most vital interests of human life and society.

And we may believe it to be among the ordained laws of religion, that it so combat and oppose the progressive and innovating teachings of rationalism, including all those deductions of science that come into conflict with its

established dogmas, as to check their too rapid general dissemination, and to give time for the popular mind to become prepared and adjusted gradually, and in a measure unconsciously, and without a shock to its religious sentiments, or without impairment of its religious faith and hopes, with all that rests upon them, to the new deductions and standards that rationalism and science present or urge for its acceptance.

Thus, while rationalism and science continue their progress and unfold their deductions, according to their own laws of development, unchecked in their respective circles of advancement by the oppositions of religion; the general dissemination of many of their deductions, at so rapid a rate as to disturb too violently, unsettle too greatly, and change too suddenly, established opinions and beliefs to the injury of religion and morality is prevented.

In the association of religious systems with the state or governing power, they at times exercise a great, and often a preponderating influence in the political as well as in the moral and religious life of nations, at times to the injury, as well as to the benefit, of the national interests. History is full of instances in which they have allied themselves to the civil power, in opposition to the dearest rights of mankind,

and given their sanction to the worst forms of tyranny and oppression. Their influence, interests, and aims have often involved nations in civil and foreign war; and their intolerance has ever aroused the bitter passions of fanaticism and bigotry, which have originated and controlled all of the religious wars and persecutions that have so scourged mankind; have been waged with such unpitying ferocity and cruelty; have inflicted such fearful sufferings and wrongs; and so often deluged nations in blood.

Yet the association of religious systems with the governing power, has, with rare exceptions, a generally or a specially elevating and regulating influence in social and national life; and is, when it exists, essential, as a general rule, to the national welfare, as it is generally the necessary result, of the social, political, and moral conditions and wants of the community or nation; the association strengthening or declining as a law of their existence, as those conditions and wants render its aid to the governing power essential to the maintenance of law and order. In obedience to that law, religion is more or less rude and stern, and more or less closely associated with the governing power, according as this has to control the

rude energies of different degrees of barbarism, or to regulate the higher activities of communities and nations, possessing more or less highly-developed systems of government, and standards of law, order, liberty, and religion. In higher conditions of society, with highly-developed forms of government, and standards of law, order, liberty, and religion, civil and religious authority are separated, and fulfil their respective functions, in their respective spheres, and operate through proportionally elevated means, to proportionally elevated results, while religion maintains its regulating influence in human affairs throughout every degree of social development.

And man, under the requirements and influences of every creed, however rude, recognizes more or less clearly his amenability and his duties to his God, and with these, associates the duties he owes to his fellow men, as dictated by his standards of right and wrong, religion, justice, morality, and law; and feels more or less strongly imposed upon him, the responsibility and the duty of aiding, by his sentiments, principles, examples, his admonitory or his coercive efforts, in enforcing upon his fellow-men, in their relations with each other and with the community, and in support of public

and private virtue, a compliance with the requirements of those standards. The sentiment of religion is thus a powerful and an active principle in human affairs, and produces proportionate results upon human welfare and happiness, whether operating through its silent inspirations and tendencies, or through its restrictive, corrective, admonitory, or coercive action, upon the conduct and moralities of individuals, communities, and nations.

Or whether, through even its antagonisms, as occurring between different opposing creeds or denominations, the conflicts of which are frequently among their most purifying agencies, the seasons of their most elevating conditions and influences; while their periods of peace and repose are not unfrequently the sources of their deepest corruptions, the seasons of their lowest conditions and influences; those periods being generally their phases of wealth, indulgence, and power; of accomplished ends; the fruits of conflict and triumph; the effects of spent energies, lowered activities; the incitements to ease, neglect of duty, defiance of public sentiment, with all their train of lowering consequences; and are the sure precursors, accompaniments, or agencies of declension.

Conflicting creeds or denominations, on the

contrary, needing as they do, the support of public confidence and respect, endeavor to win these by the close practice of the duties of piety and virtue ; by the value of the principles they embrace and offer ; by the correction or the concealment of their defects ; and by the exposition of the defects existing in the principles and conduct of their opponents ; and thus mutually exercise upon each other and upon society, elevating and purifying influences, while their antagonisms further result, as a general rule, in the ascendancy of the creeds, denominations, and principles, the most favorable to human welfare and happiness ; both the antagonisms and the rule of ascendancy, as well as the diversity of creeds out of which they grow, being among the laws of society and of progress.

Mankind have never given an enduring outward expression or form to their emotions of piety, which are ever manifesting themselves in changing modes of worship, from the most irrational, to the most rational and pure, which successively rise and pass away, in accordance with the changing conditions and degrees of enlightenment and of ignorance, through which human society, the human mind, are ever revolving ; the characters and forms of every

past system of religion having depended upon the mental and material conditions from which they arose, as the characters and forms of all future systems will depend upon the mental and material conditions from which they arise, while piety, the vital principle of all religion, may abide with it, throughout all of its forms, all of its phases of enlightenment and of ignorance.

But no form can warrant it against corruption, immorality, ignorance, error, or fanaticism, which may lower its character and influence, and associate it with absurd or degrading observances and rites, with an intolerant spirit, a persecuting zeal, and the worst passions of the mind. Whatever, under the sanctions of the different systems of religion, offends the convictions of the enlightened mind, is chargeable to the mental conditions to which they are due, and which soon harmonize to their own characteristics, any system. Thus mild and benevolent systems of religion, and elevated forms of worship, arise, as mankind advance in enlightenment. The rude and uncivilized are prone to seek, in the phenomena around them, the media of their worship, and are ever tending to superstition and idolatry, and imparting to their religion the characteristics of their own rudeness, sternness, and ignorance.

In every age there are masses of mankind and extensive classes of minds so conditioned as to need the aid of visible media for the expression of their emotions of piety. So in every age, there is a class of the cultivated and enlightened, who yield those emotions to intellectual and elevated conceptions of the Deity. Between the one class of minds and the other, there exists an insensible gradation of mental ability and correctness of judgment, and with these, corresponding degrees of enlightenment in their religious views and systems; all their varied degrees of enlightenment but little affecting their degrees of piety. The ignorant Pagan, with crude views, or corrupted creeds of religion, may be animated by a more elevated and elevating piety than the intellectual Christian who has arrived at the most rational and correct views and deductions on the subject. The greatest proportional number of the pious, of even civilized nations, is not unfrequently found among classes that rank relatively low in educational statistics.

The religious influences and tendencies of a country take their characters from its other conditions — grow out of and belong to them. So religious beliefs or doctrines take their characters from, and react upon, the character,

determinations, opinions, and sentiments, the moral and social conditions among which they exist. Every form of religion is the expression of the same principle of mind — piety, and diversity of form is limited by man's power of varying the expression of this principle. Born in China, Turkey, Christendom, or elsewhere, his religious and moral codes would be such as were there taught him ; their degrees of purity and of elevating influences would depend upon the purity, elevation, and cultivation of the mind or minds whence they emanated, and to which they became associated ; while all minds and creeds, from the most benighted to the most enlightened, up to the mind and creed of science, with its abstract idea of a Deity as deduced from the works of creation, meet in the common recognition of an inscrutable, controlling power in the universe, a God under every conception of the power the mind may form.

The different sects, creeds, and denominations into which society, the world, is divided, are so many religious centres around which respectively circle its religious masses, each circle being filled with members representing diversities of religious opinions, varying from the orthodox creed of their circle, through still

widening departures from it, until some overstep their own into neighboring circles of other denominations; all of which are expressions of the same great principle of man's being — piety; which is a constant and an active element in all communities and nations; and by that law of human condition according to which the relative proportion of births to death, of males to females, vice to morality, &c., are nearly constant quantities among large masses of mankind, over great spaces; so the principle of piety, which in individual minds may be entirely wanting, or greatly deficient, and which ever greatly differs in degree in different minds, is among different national masses, within certain limits and under certain modifications, also a nearly constant quantity, ever externally manifesting itself in different degrees and forms of religious observance, according to the conditions by which it may be influenced.

The respective influences of these different degrees and forms of its external manifestation, are so interwoven in the national economy, with an infinite number of other causes and influences, and determined so greatly by them as to be generally beyond the reach of the mind's estimate as regards their relative values

in the national economies to which they belong, the more rational being, as the result of a higher mental condition and degree of enlightenment, — the moral condition or standard being equal, — proportionally efficient and elevating upon national welfare and happiness. Thus the Christian religion, with its sublime morality, its devout inspirations, and its wide association with the most enlightened nations of the age, is exercising its elevating mission among every people, and in every quarter of the earth.

All in man that influences his social conditions, every power and function of the mental economy, the highest and the purest, the lowest and the vilest, attributes of the soul, may meet together under infinitely varied proportional combinations. So to some degree in the national mind, piety and morality, irreligion and vice, may exist in different relative proportions to each other, irrespective of forms of religion. Irrespective of these, every power of the mind, and every external condition that enters into the formation of national greatness, may prevail or not, as the character and influence of every religion will be modified by the conditions, the degrees of enlightenment and morality, the mental character and forces to

which it becomes associated, and will be brought into harmony with them.

Under Pagan worship of diverse forms, Egypt, Tyre, Greece, Carthage, Rome, and many of the great nations of antiquity, played a part in the history of civilization, so grand and enduring in its results, as to still stand out in gigantic proportions through the decay and oblivion of centuries, under Pagan worship, barbarian invaders in the fifth century, subjugated, Christianized Rome. Under Mahomedanism, the Arabs, Turks, and Moors, between the seventh and the fourteenth centuries, rose to empire, and extended their dominion from the Euphrates to the Atlantic; overthrew Christian nation after nation; devoted the temples of Christian worship to the worship of Mahomet; made great progress in art, science, literature, and refinement, and aided in elevating the Christian world, by the example and diffusion of their higher civilization. Under Pagan worship, powerful and enlightened peoples, embracing a large proportion of the human family, still exist, under nationalities and civilizations which they have preserved and handed down through ages. China alone has extended her civilization over one quarter of mankind, and perpetuated her empire through a series

of ages, during which Christian and Pagan nation after nation have successively risen to greatness, and passed away into an oblivion that has hidden everything pertaining to them except a few wrecks of their greatness, or but faint memories of their fame; while of the earth's present estimated population of twelve hundred millions, not more, probably, than four hundred millions are Christian.

History and innumerable monuments of ancient and of modern Paganism, and of the religions of many different peoples, ages, and portions of the earth, incontestably prove that even under the most irrational forms of religion, a people may attain a high state of prosperity and happiness. In the minds of nations, as well as of individuals, piety, powerful as it is for good, is but a single sentiment, a single influence, among the many sentiments, and the infinite number of influences, that bear mankind along on their course; and these sentiments, and these influences, under different modifications, due to different social conditions, and the sentiment and influence of piety, are ever present, and within certain limits, steadily proportioned elements in man's national conditions and history, ever respectively increasing or decreasing in activity, with the increase or

the decrease of national enlightenment and activity, and ever mutually assuming forms, and producing effects upon each other, according to the conditions from which they respectively arise, and with which they become respectively associated.

CHAPTER VIII.

RACES AND CIVILIZATIONS, PAST AND PRESENT.

A COMPARISON of man's past with his present history, conditions, productions, institutions, arts, sciences, literature, architecture, &c., attests the unchanging nature of human principles, modes of action, defects and perfectionments, and also the narrow limits of their variation, between which they are ever oscillating like the vibrations of a pendulum, alternately raised by forces ever urging them upward, and again reacting in obedience to a gravitating law of humanity, ever tending them downward.

Through every stage of barbarism and of civilization, the mental and physical constitution of mankind have been and will be the same. The same emotions, desires, affections, propensities; the same powers, characteristics, and actions, of body and mind, however infinitely modified in minor points, acting at different times and places, under different circum-

stances and conditions, they respectively reach different degrees of development, under combinations infinitely varied, and give rise to social, material, and political effects as varied. So numerous and diversified are the conditions upon which the existence of communities and nations depends, however simple or however complex the organization of these be, their varied, ever-changing combinations give innumerable, ever-changing forms to civilization and barbarism of every degree.

All of the classifications of the human family, as to mental means, susceptibility of improvement, and capability of civilization, are the arbitrary divisions of a chain, connected through its whole length by differences of an almost insensible gradation, and the elements of which probably exist, within certain limits, in unchanging relative proportions to each other among mankind throughout every age; and when regarded in the mass, from one extreme of difference to the other, most readily present themselves to the mind as the varied results corresponding to the varied conditions that prevail in human existence, and act upon one common nature.

This unity of the human family may perhaps be admitted even under the assumption of differ-

ent primordial origins during different periods, and in different portions of the earth. The different varieties of mankind may have originated in different sections and periods, only under terrestrial conditions equally advanced to certain points of development essential to their appearance and existence on earth; and from the similarity of the adapted conditions with which they were respectively associated, may have necessarily commenced their existence in the different sections and periods, at the same general point of mental and physical development; then been destined with their given faculties and adaptations, to mature more or less rapidly, more or less partially, in different sections of the earth, at different periods, and among their different varieties; ultimately to mature more generally over the earth, as a whole human family, to the fuller realization of the higher capabilities of their given faculties and powers, and of their destined ends in the economy of creation, and with ever alternating oscillations of the different varieties and races, between varied degrees of barbarism and of civilization; and then, perhaps, to decline, and finally to pass away, and be succeeded, if at all, by new creations, in accordance with the altered conditions that may arise to produce the change.

Or the different races of mankind may have originated from a primitive type through the operation of slowly modifying causes, through birth increments of deviation, or the operation of the principle of "natural selection;" and after their establishment at a certain point of their improvement, may, it is assumed, have been carried out of the scope and influence of this principle, through the increased control which their improved mental powers gave them over the conditions, forces, and influences of physical nature, and over their own relations, sympathies, aims, and efforts. Yet it is not satisfactorily apparent, why the law of "natural selection," if it determined the rise and perpetuation of favored and improved races, in the struggle for existence, and if its tendencies are continually to improvement from lower to higher conditions and grades of existence, should cease, unless in degree, to influence man in his improved conditions, in which his forces are increased, and his antagonisms with his fellow men, in the mutual struggle for ascendancy, are intensified.

But whether the typical differences of mankind be primordial and original, or whether they have originated from one common type, modified by the agency of slowly operating causes,

by the perpetuation of birth increments of deviation, or by changes due to "natural selection," the different races, with their varied degrees of mental advancement, so run into each other, the highest range of the inferior meeting the lowest range of the superior, as to form a connected, completed system, a common family.

The impression of a common identity is thus intuitive to the common mind of humanity, arising from that general similitude of all mankind to each other, which man ever recognizes in the presence of his fellow man, and which subserves a happy end in tending to a wider sympathy and to more benevolent relations between the diverse varieties of the human family, even amid existing prejudices and hostilities, which arise with equal frequency and bitterness, both between the various races of mankind and different branches of identical races. And that impression, though practically denied by dominant races of every age and clime, as by the conquering races and nations of modern times, and questioned by the uncompromising researches of philosophy, will never be displaced in the common mind of mankind, by race antagonism, nor by the deductions of science however truthful; and all the efforts of reason will probably never solve the prob-

lem, nor carry its solution beyond its present condition of a questionable hypothesis, which is maintained and opposed by authorities equally great.

Pritchard, Leipsius, Müller, the two Humboldts, Bunson, Crawford, Owen, Draper, and a host of other authorities, maintaining in various forms, and by various arguments and data, the unity of the species, Müller, finding proofs of it in the fruitful union of different races; Bunson, in physiology; Crawford, in philology; Draper, in the general identity of mankind, in a common body, and a common mind, only modified by the different conditions to which they had been subjected through lengthy periods of time. Agassiz, Logan, Morton, and other writers of note, assume it to exist even in the midst of a primordial diversity of origin and race. Equally able ethnologists concur in denying that identity, considering the different varieties of the human family as original and primordial; that each variety differs in degree of mental capacity; and that each, with its respective degree of endowment, is indicated by corresponding degrees of cranial and type development, manifested in the size, form, and structure of the head, in the lineaments of the face, and in sundry other peculiarities.

Nor can it be denied that different contemporary races are marked by different proportions of lowly-typed heads and faces, which, whether due to modifying conditions, or whether primordial and original, indicate an inferior cerebral organization. But the different cranial and physiognomical forms presented by ethnologists, as the distinguishing types of different races, are generally extreme specimens that very imperfectly represent or approximate the true general types of the respective masses or varieties that make up the different races of mankind, all of whom far more nearly resemble each other, and far more closely approach a general standard or similarity, than those specimens would indicate.

The ideal type of highest development is rarely met with in even the most highly-civilized communities; the lower types of every degree, on the contrary, prevail there, and also many of the lowest,—features as illy favored as those of the lower grades of the African, Tasmanian, or Australian, and heads as lowly-developed as any belonging to the stone, bronze, and iron periods, or found in the Bone caves, tumuli, cairnes, earthy deposits, &c., of an unknown antiquity, while every race whose mental standard is represented by the lower

specimens or types, present some noble and many fine forms and specimens of development.

The Reverend Doctor Livingstone, who spent years in South Central Africa, affirms that the tribes on the east coast, such as the Caffers, have heads finely-formed and strongly-developed; that although a large proportion of the slaves exported to Brazil from Western Central Africa had a general similarity to the typical negro, there were many good-looking, well-shaped heads among them; that he never could think our ideal negro the true type; that after becoming familiar with the black color, in viewing the countenance, he was struck by the strong resemblance some natives bore to certain English notabilities; that with every disposition to pay due deference to the opinions of those who had made ethnology their special study, he had felt himself unable to believe that the exaggerated features usually put forth as those of the typical negro, characterize the majority of any nation of South Central Africa.

The test of mental power, as furnished by cranial capacity, must also be subject to limiting conditions, to exceptions and doubts. Thus Knox pronounces the Slavic the most intellectual of all the races; yet Morton, the highest

authority on the subject, gives them, in his tabular view of the cranial capacity of the different races, a smaller capacity than to the Teutonic and Scandinavian families; as he also assigns to the ancient Egyptians, Indians, Peruvians, Mexicans, and Chinese, a smaller cranial capacity than to the barbarous races by whom they were surrounded, and whom they held in subjection; or than he assigns to the African races; though to the more enlightened nations is attributed a greater proportional development of the portion of the head assigned to the organs of the superior faculties, relatively to the portion assigned to those of the inferior, than is attributed to the less enlightened or barbarous tribes.

It not unfrequently follows that among the writers who have speculated on the question of the unity of man, the most extreme views of the distinctive differences of races are held by men who have travelled the least, and have had the smallest opportunity of meeting the different varieties of mankind. The data collected from books, from desultory observations made within narrow limits, and from a few skulls, constitute too often the only means of the speculative ethnographer. There is thus, about the writings of many whose distinctions

between race and race are extreme, a certain tone and treatment of the subject that betrays the positiveness of the recluse speculator, who assumes a theory, and then maintains it, with a confidence proportioned to the poverty of his data, the narrow range of his travel, and opportunity of meeting, and personally studying, the differences of mankind; all being too limited to disturb the seeming certainty of his conclusions, by complexities and difficulties that truly belong to the subject, and grow out of more extended and perfect views.

Whatever speculations, deductions, and theories on the subject we accept, the more closely and intimately we extend our acquaintance with the different varieties of mankind; and the more closely and truly we inquire into the modifying conditions by which they have been and are surrounded, the more closely will they become assimilated in our minds, and the more nearly will the average standard of each approach the average natural standard of mental and physical capacity and power belonging to general humanity.

Though the physical development and symmetry of form of the general population of civilized and of uncivilized communities are, to different degrees, lowered by lowering condi-

tions and modes of life, each of the various races of mankind, from the African to the Caucasian, furnish specimens of bodily development and symmetry of form which may be regarded as an equally perfect standard type of humanity, to and from which the general population of the different races oscillate back and forth, according to prevailing conditions, and ever tend to return to it as to a static or standard point of departure, when, and to the degree to which, existing conditions favor or permit the return.

If man's physical structure has thus a standard type common to the whole species, and to and from which the physical status of the general population of the various races thus oscillate, and to which they thus continually tend, why, as nature is ever in harmony throughout all of its parts and adjustments, are we not warranted in concluding that the cerebral or mental organs, faculties, functions, and capabilities, which are adapted to that body, also possess a standard type common to the whole species, and to and from which the mental status of the general population of the different races also oscillate back and forth, according to influencing conditions, and as continually tend to return to it, as to a static or standard point

of departure, when, and to the degree to which, existing conditions favor or permit the return.

The body, in even its most perfect condition, needs, like the mind, the appropriate stimuli, exercise, and training of its parts, functions, and capabilities, to acquire and to retain such a requisite aptitude and adaptation to the conditions that surround it, as to be able to accomplish its higher functions and results, in its peculiar sphere, or species of effort; but the range of its capabilities and conditions, relatively to that of the mind, is a very limited one. And inasmuch as the mind and its functions transcend in importance and in scope of improvement and results the body and its functions, so much greater is the range of its oscillations between its higher and its lower conditions and capabilities, and also its departures from its static or standard point or condition; to and from which it continually tends. The general bodily conformation and symmetry of the variously typed and conditioned races consequently differ from each other to a relatively small extent compared to the differences that exist between their mental conditions, capabilities, and attainments.

Philosophy and science, like humbler spheres of mind, have their passing phases of fashion,

and objects of enthusiasm ; their cherished theories and favorite pursuits ; their engrossing problems and extravagant solutions ; which successively absorb attention, and subject more or less to their influence, and for a period, the most cautious and profound of their investigators ; enlisting in the chosen cause, and in support of the favorite theories and views of the day, all the data, arguments, and reasonings that can be gathered by enthusiasm and industry, or that can be drawn from the profoundest realms of thought and depths of science and learning, aided by all that undue bias to cherished ideas, and all that sophistry and forced construction can supply.

From these influences, ethnography has not escaped ; elevated into a science full of interest and instruction, and still in course of vigorous progress to fuller developments and to truer conclusions, it has yet to undergo many modifications, from advancing science, and from a fuller knowledge of all that pertains to the subject. All of the facts and causes that have been yet gathered, and all known or assumed, that enter into a solution of its mooted problems, form so trifling a sum of data compared to the infinite amount of recognizable, unknown, unsuspected, and untangible facts and causes

that actually constitute the history, conditions, determinations, and destiny of man, and embrace so minute a point of time in the vast, unknown period of his existence on earth, as to render unwarrantable the confidence with which many of the conclusions that have been based upon them have been asserted.

Our range of observation and of retrospection, which goes back to but a few centuries into the past, illy enables us to estimate the revolutions and changes that may have occurred to elevate and to abase races, or to trace what connections may truly exist between different degrees of mental power and the different types and forms of development that are assumed to symbolize those degrees.

There exist between the skulls of the uneducated and humble, and educated and higher classes of the same nation and race, no general differences to indicate that the different conditions of humble, and of the higher spheres of life, exercise a modifying effect upon the development and form of the head. The causes that tend to lower the character of the mind, and with it the development and form of the head, are equally numerous in both spheres. The general pursuits of active, humble life, give, on an average, as healthy an activity and

exercise to the general functions of the mind, as do the general pursuits belonging to the higher spheres of life. Added to which, the ceaseless revolutions that occur in national and social life, are alternately raising the humble, and sinking into obscurity the elevated; alternately subjecting all, both high and low, to the same circle of conditions, carrying them through the same succession of phases, and thus aiding in preserving the general homogeneousness of the whole.

So it may be questioned whether there really exist between the barbarous and the civilized portions of mankind, those general differences of cranial development and cerebral power, which are attributed to the different races, and assumed to indicate the modifying agency of different conditions belonging to different degrees of civilization and barbarism; whether there be not, in many of the degrading conditions and vices which exist in civilized life, causes as brutalizing to the mind, and as lowering to the development of the brain and head, as any that exist in savage life; which also offers to the mind conditions and positions that task and develop to the highest degree many of the faculties; also, whether the general pursuits of savage life do not, on an average, give to the

general powers of the mind as healthy an activity and exercise as do those of civilized life ; and whether the ceaseless revolutions going on among nations and races are not, in the progress of time, alternately raising rude and barbarous races and masses of mankind, into civilization and refinement, and sinking into rudeness and barbarism, the civilized and refined ; alternately subjecting all races, the civilized and the barbarous, to the same circle of conditions, carrying them through the same succession of phases ; and thus aiding in preserving an approximately general homogeneousness of the whole species.

The advance of communities in civilization, and through all the phases of their varying conditions from rudeness to power, and then again to declension, presents no evidences of cranial enlargement, or change of form, nor does the influence of an intellectual training in parents seem to be of any effect in elevating the transmissible qualities of the mind, communicated to their children, above the standard of the parents' natural capacity. Thus obscure and humble parents, whose whole history and life have been unfavorable to intellectual culture, as frequently bring into existence children of talent or genius, as do the most highly-cultivated and intellectually-distinguished.

The high artificial cultivation that belongs to civilization, would thus seem in itself alone to be of no particular avail, in tending the intellectual capacity of the species to a higher range of development. The intellectual capacity of mankind, it may be inferred, is neither improved nor deteriorated by the intellectual training alone that belongs to a high civilization, or to a low civilization, but is rather determined by the sum total of the physical and material as well as by the mental conditions under which communities and races live, and by the physical as well as by the mental developments they receive. Both civilized and uncivilized races may equally be subjected to conditions favorable or unfavorable to their mental characteristics and developments, which conditions are to both the civilized and the uncivilized, equally, the sources of their elevation or of their depression.

Nor is it difficult to believe that the varied objects of the great volume of nature, and the peculiar pursuits, which together engage the mind in uncivilized life, may, under the proper conditions, induce as healthy a general condition and development of brain as do the objects and pursuits of civilized life; although the range of acquirement in the first instance must

necessarily remain low, as the degrees of attainment reached by individuals depend upon the elevating conditions of the community to which they belong, and above which no individual of any race rises beyond a very trifling degree.

In savage life, or in the ruder stages of society, with their simple social organizations, the mental faculties are neither cultivated to their full extent, nor do they yield their greatest or most elevated results. Elementary forms of society thus rest upon undiversified, unspecialized, individual attainments, efforts, aims, and results, and are correspondingly simple in their organization, and undiversified and low in both their specific and general results; while the union and coöperation of related, diversified, and specialized individual endowments, capabilities, functions, efforts, aims, and results, for the attainment of the greatest diversity and the highest order of special and general results, constitute the essential characteristics of civilized society, and enter into and determine its complex structure, and realize through it the greatest diversity and the highest order of human results.

But while in civilized life, with its innumerable conditions and its complex organizations, the mental faculties receive a higher

culture, a fuller development, and yield results correspondingly great, they suffer a gradual deterioration from the wear and exhaustion occasioned by excess of mental stimuli and activity, undue excitement, agitation, and effort, while many of the trades, professions, and pursuits, by overtasking particular parts of the body, and particular faculties of the mind, may injure the symmetry and lower the general vigor of both. The exhaustion, wear, and tendencies of mental and physical life in civilized society, by thus lowering the standards, the well-balanced symmetry and vigor of body and mind, may be among the active causes of national degradation and decline.

It may be questioned whether or not one of the designed ends of the savage condition be to give rest to the nervous and cerebral structures, and to restore symmetry to the bodily form, after they have been deteriorated by the intensity and artificiality of civilized life; after the natural and balanced harmony and proportions of the faculties of the mind, and the natural symmetry and proportions of the body, have been injured, deformed, or distorted by undue stimuli, excitement, and effort; by over-exercise of certain faculties and powers of the mind, at the expense of other faculties and powers of

the mind, and certain parts of the body, at the expense of certain other parts of the body.

We view the different present races, in different stages of advancement, and see them marked by different mental and physical peculiarities. These different races, and their different degrees of advancement, have been typified by forms of development which are assumed to be in accordance with their respective degrees of mental capacity, powers of improvement, and capabilities of advancement. But what connection those different assumed forms of development and the different degrees of advancement have with each other, how truly those different forms typify the mental capacity of the different races, and how near we have reached the range of observation and the necessary data, to accurately or safely decide, must be exceedingly doubtful.

As far as the history of mankind is known to us, civilization and cultivation certainly appear to have been carried on only by certain races. The capabilities of civilization, belonging to different contemporary races, also differ very greatly. Many of the varieties known to us, have, so far as they can be traced, never risen to degrees of civilization that have left behind enduring traces or elevating influences.

There may, however, have been periods anterior to the historic, or localities of the earth, unknown to the historic era, in which other races played their part in the civilization of mankind, and they may all have passed through phases of high endowment and elevated attainment; and then, through the operation of lowering conditions, sunk into their different degrees of apparent or of actual inferiority.

Thus the fellahs or peasants of Upper and Middle Egypt, at the present day, are regarded as the best living representatives of the ancient population, their predominant type being, it is asserted, identical with the majority of the portraits on the earliest monuments; and Morton maintains their identity with the ancient races, by a comparison of ancient Egyptian crania with fellah skulls taken from modern cemeteries. Yet we find this identical race, that once reached a degree of power and advancement, in many respects unequalled in human history, now sunk into the most abject poverty, ignorance, and degradation. On the other hand, the Slavonic race, occupying the northeastern section of Europe, to which region they are considered indigenous, who are the most numerous branch of the Caucasian family, numbering, it is estimated, about seventy-eight

millions, and who are considered intellectually equal to any other race, have not, within the historic period held, until lately, a high position in civilization, and are, the bulk of them, at the present day, as they have been from the most remote period to which they can be traced, in a semi-civilized condition, and some of them but a remove from barbarism.

The descriptions given by Herodotus and other ancient historians of the Scythian, Celtic, Gothic, and other white races of antiquity, present them, generally, as equally uncivilized and rude in their customs, usages, modes of life, and ignorance of literature, science, and art, as are the savage tribes of America, and the black races of Africa. Stephens, in his work on Russia, represents the Russian peasant as equally degraded in intellect, character, personal bearing, and habits of life, as the American slave, and as presenting degrees of abasement in a white race most adverse to the theory of the intrinsic superiority of that race to all others.

In estimating the dark or black races, the color of the skin, whether it be due to the effect of climate, food, clothing, habits of life, or other conditions, can afford no ground for the assumption of their inferiority, there being

nothing intrinsically superior in a white skin to a black one, either in organization, texture, or beauty; and were black the prevailing color of the dominant and most highly civilized races, conventional estimates and taste might perhaps accord it the highest claim to admiration. Nor do the analogies of the animal world below man afford any support to the assumption of color being any test of superiority, since identical species of many varieties of animals vary in color from the extremes of white and black, without in a single instance exhibiting the slightest variation in any condition that implies the minutest differences in degrees of development or perfectionment.

The Bible, Homer, Herodotus, and other ancient authorities, concur in representing the Ethiopians, who belonged, according to all testimony on the subject, to the black race, as among the most highly-civilized people of their age. The agency of the black race in the rise and development of civilization, has been asserted by numerous authorities, from Herodotus down to writers of the present period; in which Count Gobineau, in a work on the "Inequalities of the human races," attributes to the black race a prominent influence in the rise and progress of art and literature, among the

nations of antiquity; while numerous writers and speakers of the present day assume the characteristics and capabilities of the race to be equal to those of other races. 'Dr. Livingstone, who is as well qualified to judge as any other authority living, thus sums up his estimate of the character and natural capacity of the black races of Central Africa: "In reference to the status of the Africans among the nations of the earth, we have seen nothing to justify the notion that they are of a different 'breed' or 'species' from the most civilized. The African is a man, with every attribute of human kind. Centuries of barbarism have had the same deteriorating effects upon Africans as Pritchard describes them to have had on certain of the Irish who were driven, some generations back, to the hills of Ulster and Connaught; and these depressing influences have had such moral and physical effects upon some tribes, that ages, probably, will be required to undo what ages have done."

There is much in ancient history to indicate the dominion or rule of a black race in Egypt during some period of its enlightenment and greatness. In the perplexing statements of the early Greek writers, in regard to the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of Egypt,

many allusions, implying their African lineage and type, occur. Herodotus distinctly alludes to their black complexions and woolly hair. Even Pritchard pauses in seeming doubt, upon the question of their approximation to the negro type. And while Egyptologists draw from the sculptures of their monuments, and from the cranial remains of their tombs, the proofs of their Caucasian type, Livingstone, the African traveller and missionary, assumes the existence of a marked resemblance, which he says frequently struck him, between the prevailing features of certain negro tribes and the Egyptian physiognomies seen by him on the monuments of ancient Egypt. Insufficient as this and all extant testimony on the subject certainly is, to meet the more positive proof of their Caucasian type, it warrants us at least in considering the rule of a black race in that country, at some period of its enlightened condition, as probable.

Thus without either affirming or denying too positively the inferiority or the superiority of the natural and inherent capabilities of certain races, it may safely be assumed that in the innumerable instances afforded us of the effects of lowering or of elevating conditions upon the characteristics and capabilities of mankind, and

of the influence of prejudice between antagonist or differing races, modes and degrees of civilization, in determining their estimates of each other, we have proofs of the little reliance that can be placed upon the judgments that different peoples, ages, and civilizations pass upon each other ; and sufficient warning against too great a confidence in the decisions that may be made in regard to the natural capabilities of any particular people or race, however depressed they may be.

When we seek for an explanation of the various mental and physical characteristics manifested by different races in an assumed typical change from one common stock, we are met in every direction by proofs of the comparative permanence of race types, in which no well-authenticated instances of change have occurred. The Caucasian races of Europe and Asia, Egyptians, Pelasgians, Scythians, Jews, the negro, and other known races, are found figured on the still existing monuments of ancient Egypt. Most of them can be traced back on the oldest of those monuments, and nearly all of them have been identified in the cranial remains of the catacombs.

On the monuments of Assyria are also found delineated the features of several recognized

varieties of the Caucasian, also of the negro, and other known races, while among the cranial relics taken from the monuments of Assyria and Egypt, and belonging to the earliest civilized nations known to us, have been discovered skulls, some of them now to be seen in the museums of Europe, which are pronounced to be of the most highly developed Caucasian type; assumed to indicate superiority of race, and the highest range of mental capacity and power. The cranial remains of the New World have demonstrated the general identity and unchangeableness of the native American tribes, throughout that continent, from the present period to as far back as they can be traced, through the successive nations and tribes that held dominion there. The black races of Central Africa, Livingstone, the African traveller, asserts, never die out.

Thus, as far back at least as human society, institutions, and arts, human remains, types, and osteological forms, can be traced, the present prominent types of mankind, with all the peculiarities that now distinguish them, were in existence, and must consequently have been in existence ages before. An inherent principle of the animal economy seemingly acts with an unceasing tendency to the preservation of prim-

itive or established types, whether in admixtures of race, where it tends to the preservation of the type of the most numerous race that receives the infusion of a smaller number of another race, or whether under the influence of geographical, climatic, and other local agencies, out of which so much of the ethnological peculiarities of races grow, by a mutual adapt-
edness.

Nor is enough known of the history and conditions of races in past ages to warrant the assumptions of the gradual disappearance of the so-termed inferior races, before the pressure of the superior, or that they pass away when brought into antagonisms of habits and interests. They may all be destined, in the circle of human change, to become in their turn, elevated to a dominant position, and to the highest standards of attainment, and may possibly even have passed through those phases during some past period ; and in the ever-fluctuating changes that occur in the conditions of the different races of mankind, their different rates of increase, degrees of civilization, and relations of inferiority and superiority, may be ever in course of interchange among them, and ever preserve the same diversities.

The assumed instances in which races have

passed or are passing away, are exceedingly rare and imperfectly confirmed, excepting in a few instances of fragmentary portions of races occupying isolated islands or localities, under conditions unfavorable to their preservation. Even the Indian race of America, who are seemingly perishing before the pressure of the white race, are still sufficiently numerous to form a stock for some future and higher phase of race condition, and for a career of high attainment. All the revolutions of human condition that may occur, may never so reduce the number of the race, aided as they may be by that climatic and local tendency, to certain forms of development, as to place them below the capability of resuscitation to a higher condition, or to an elevated position among mankind, should those revolutions yield them favoring conditions.

Indeed, theorists, basing their conclusions on the assumed adaptedness and tendency of particular climatic, geographical, and other local causes and influences, to certain specific forms of development, and their deteriorating operation upon certain other specific forms or races, have predicted the ultimate degeneracy and decay of the European races in America, and the restoration of the Aboriginal races; assum-

ing that the exotic races will only maintain their position while replenished by incessant supplies from abroad; that permanent native American races of European lineage can never be realized; that in Mexico and in many portions of Southern America, the foreign blood is gradually dying out, and the population steadily returning to the indigenous race; and that the same class of causes will everywhere produce the same class of effects.

The known conditions of past races, and the lowly-developed skulls which have been discovered under circumstances indicating extreme antiquity, and which embrace a few crania greatly inferior to the crania of any known human race, afford data too limited to affect the general testimony in favor of race durability, or permanence of race types, or to aid the theory of man's development from lower to higher types. All of the known past conditions of races, and past cranial forms, even to the lowest, can be paralleled by those now in living existence, while the few skulls of extremely low development, may have been, as present living crania of the same character now are, instances of malformation, or of accidental deviations from normal forms.

There may, however, be ethnological ten-

dencies, due to physical and social conditions, to soil, climate, admixture of races, degrees of civilization and of barbarism, and innumerable other causes, through which race types, durable as they may appear, may be ever undergoing endless though unappreciable modifications, which, during intervals too lengthy for human observation or record, may produce, within certain limits, great changes, either elevating or lowering, in them, and in race characteristics and scale of endowment. The operation of that universal law of change, through which everything that exists runs its course through ever-varying conditions, fulfils its mission, and passes away, must also enter into the destiny of races. The perpetuity that seemingly belongs to the different races, and the permanence that seemingly belongs to their respective types, are probably due to the lengths of the intervals in which is worked out the destiny or the extinction of races. A vast succession of ages must elapse before an original type could have time to diverge into the present diversities.

The geological and the paleontological records of the earth, indicate with the regularity of a law of nature, the gradual extinction of prevailing forms of life, and the production of new and more advanced forms ; also a cer-

tain order of succession in the different strata of the earth, as in the different forms and degrees of development, that mark the organic remains by which they are respectively characterized; and which rise from elementary forms to those of the most perfected development. But there exists no record of the mysterious process through which the creation of these varied and graduated forms of being was effected; nor any evidences of man's passage through such successive stages of type development and improvement; or whether he commenced his existence under different types, and gradations of development, or at different periods and places, or when. Speculation and hypothesis are then, probably, all that our enquiries as regards the origin of the human family can warrant, nor can our imperfect knowledge and grasp of its past revolutions and history more clearly indicate to us its future changes.

We know not even the point the earth has reached in the cycle of its existence. Its present conditions and human life and intelligence, may be the destined limits of its maturity; or it may be past its culminating point, tending to conditions unfavorable or fatal to human existence. Or its past course of change and prog-

ress from lower to higher, from more simple to more complex conditions and forms of life, may be destined to continue into the future, to the extinction of man, and the advent of higher orders of life and intelligence. It may, as a member of the solar system, be destined to circle along a solar orbit, into regions of space, through degrees of temperature, and amidst cosmical influences, that may alter all of its conditions that have reference to human existence. Or it may have oscillated, and be still destined to oscillate, back and forth, through circles of cosmical and geological change, from nebular or elementary, to fully developed conditions, and then back again to its primitive state, its vital productions passing through corresponding modifications and oscillations, successively rising into existence and to maturity, and then sinking back into decay and extinction.

But whatever be man's future destiny, or whether diversity of race, be due to the modifying influences of different conditions, or to original creations; diversity of race, and all of the different mental, physical, and social tendencies belonging to race, with their agency in the determinations of human condition, are not the less realities. Nor do all of those mental and physical characteristics of different individ-

uals, and masses of mankind, due to differences of race ; and which enter so largely into the determination of human action and condition, the less result from causes entirely uninfluenced by the respective individuals or masses. Man's mental and physical characteristics are, in their very origin, modified by causes and laws, which commenced their action in giving rise to diversity of race, ages before his birth.

Past causes and conditions are the germs from which originate all of the different degrees of susceptibility to favorable influences, and of intrinsic ability to rise in the scale of humanity, possessed by different races and masses of mankind ; and also all of the different degrees and forms of civilized and of uncivilized condition. All being due to determinations, tendencies, and trains of sequences, set in movement by causes belonging to past periods, and only modified by those of the present.

The proportion of civilized to uncivilized masses of mankind, is determined by unvarying laws, and has ever been, and will be, within certain limits of variation, the same. Both equally belong to the same scheme of human existence, and work out some equally useful and destined ends in its economy. As far back as history extends, it exhibits through the whole

line of its course, savage and civilized communities, tribes, and nations, through all their gradations, living contemporary with each other. So it presents through every age, many degrees and forms of civilization, existing, simultaneously in different parts of the earth. As it recedes from the present, the details which constitute the degrees and refinements of past civilizations fade from its pages, leaving the rough outlines only, like the material ruins of human labor, that strew the face of the New and the Old World, through all the gradations of decay, from the time-worn fragments that speak vaguely their characters, to the stately ruins that attest an architectural glory far surpassing that of the present.

Those great outlines, spared by time, are in many instances, all we know, and know of but a small and near portion only, of the past. How far beyond the records of history or the attestations of ruin, those various states of society and civilization extended their existence, man can only amuse himself by conjecturing. Ancient authorities point to a small portion of the habitable world, as the abode of man; he may have been widely spread and highly civilized in other sections, many of which were unknown to them. Even of those known


to them, little is left recorded in the few mutilated fragments of ancient literature that escaped destruction from the barbarism of the periods through which they passed in their passage to us.

A period of from 1500 to 1800 B. C., is the furthest limit to which the ancient written records in our possession extend, conveying to us little more than vague intimations of the actual realities of those more distant civilizations, far beyond which the annals of mankind are known to go, as is abundantly proved by the remoteness of the age to which can be traced the existence of many of the arts and sciences, while writing, as testified by numerous monuments, records, and allusions, goes back until lost to view in the remoteness of a primeval age.

Of the great European nations of even a moderate antiquity, we possess merely indistinct historical outlines; while the histories of present European nations commence in fable, are distorted by ignorance and prejudice, and transmit to us but limited and unreliable records of their earlier conditions. Nor does the mass of ancient historical traditions bring us more than mere intimations, so vague and unreliable, often so inconsistent and puerile, as to be valueless,

unless as adjuncts to some more reliable data. The historical and geographical information found in the sacred writings,—the earliest extant,—allude to only a small portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa, amounting to not more than one twentieth of the present known superficies of the earth. The whole sum of profane authorities present us with little more. The continent of America, of Australia, of Africa south of the Sahara, the most of Northern and Eastern Asia, Northern Europe, and innumerable islands of the ocean, are unnamed by them.

The recent hieroglyphical revelations, and the monumental and historical researches bearing upon ancient Egypt, upon her antiquity, her arts, sciences, and civilization, have demonstrated the ignorance of the extant Greek and Roman writers, on much that pertains to that country, and renders most unreliable their authority in regard to nations more remote. China was unknown to and unnamed by them. Indeed, there is no evidence, it is asserted, to be found in the works of ancient writers, of her having been known to the nations of the west until after the Christian era, although her true historic period goes back to many ages prior to that era; and centuries earlier, she had



attained a civilization and position that gave her the claim of a great nation to historical notice. Bacon declares of the ancient Greeks and Romans, that they had not a thousand years of history worthy of that name, but mere fables and ancient traditions, that they were acquainted with but a small portion of the earth, and pronounced as uninhabitable a great number of regions in which live innumerable nations; that the travels of Democritus, Plato, Pythagoras, and others, which were mere excursions, were considered by them as something vast.

The authorities that have reached us from that quarter, have thus but little claim upon our confidence, either in the accuracy of their statements, or in the extent of the means they afford us of arriving at a true estimate of the national and social conditions of mankind, the number and characteristics of the nationalities of the earth, in periods anterior to, or even coeval with, their own. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, charges Herodotus, our most ancient and reliable authority, with ignorance and misrepresentation in his statements regarding Egypt. Strabo pronounces the statements of some of the principal geographers of his day as unreliable, and declares that the Grecian historians of his period were full of errors as

respects even not distant regions, and completely ignorant of everything relating to Spain, Germany, Britain, and other portions of Northern and Western Europe.

The literature of every civilized nation contains innumerable works belonging to every historical age, from the fragmentary remains of ancient authorities down to the writings of a comparatively recent period, which have been proved by recent research and a more correct knowledge, to be filled with conflicting statements and deductions, with misrepresentations and misconceptions, and with crude and visionary speculations, theories, and conclusions concerning everything pertaining to antiquity, its civilizations, institutions, arts, sciences, and literature, its ancient races, nations, and cities, together with their localities and even identities.

Josephus, who alludes with but little respect to the Greek historians, assumes that the most ancient memorials and traditions of mankind were preserved by the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians. Nor is the conclusion to be avoided, that ancient and now lost authorities have existed in great abundance, which, could they have reached this age, would have transmitted to it extensive and reliable accounts of the ancient world, the notices of which are so

deficient in the extant writers of ancient Greece and Rome, who bring no evidences either that these nations ever investigated the great monuments of antiquity existing in their age, or that they ever made any attempt to bring to notice and decipher the hieroglyphics and alphabets sculptured on the perishing monuments, or existing in the entombed records, of nations that were sinking, or that had already sunk, into oblivion.

Those monuments, and those sculptured hieroglyphics and alphabets, after having suffered the further decay of centuries, modern research and science are investigating and deciphering. Egyptian and other ancient sculptures and records known to us only through the discoveries of modern research, carry us back to the periods to which they belong, ranging, according to different authorities, from three to five thousand years from the present, and reveal to us a highly-developed civilization, an advanced state of the arts, and many occurrences in the history of mankind, at eras extending back many ages prior to the periods recorded by our most ancient writers, many of whose statements have already been corrected or corroborated by those discoveries which have thus opened the records of events, and the annals of kings and dynas-

ties, which are even unnamed by those writers.

An hieratic papyra belonging to a library discovered in one of the tombs of Memphis, and now in the British museum, and the only one of the collection yet deciphered, is found to contain a history of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, embracing the reigns of the Shepherd kings, who ruled in Egypt many centuries, and of whom so little is known, as to give a mythical character to their history, which may now, after the lapse of many ages, meet its solution from those newly-discovered papyri, whose further revelations may open to us many other interesting passages in the history of ancient society. So among the ruins of ancient Nineveh has been found a chamber filled with terra-cotta tablets, on which are inscribed, in the cuniform alphabet, — the key to which has been found, — the records of that ancient people, whose history may thus be laid open to inspection, after having slumbered in oblivion some three thousand years, during which period, Greece and Rome, with many other nations, had risen to power, run their career of civilization, and passed away, without having transmitted to posterity that history, or without having apparently discovered the secret of its existence.

New and valuable additions are continually being made to the already vast number of ancient monuments, sculptures, inscriptions, and papyri, at present in the possession of this age ; and which through the discovery of the keys by which they are deciphered, are continually extending further into the depths of time, and rendering more clear our knowledge of the earlier histories and conditions of mankind ; and also the fact, that to preceding and to contemporary nations, the Greeks and the Romans were mainly indebted for most of their knowledge. Much of what they thus received, has been infused with their own errors ; and thus corrupted, has some of it come down to posterity, as specimens of a knowledge, and as traces of a people, more ancient than Greece and Rome. And in reference to most that has come down to us from antiquity, we may question with Bacon : " Hath not time, like a river, brought down to us the light and inflated, and sunk the solid and weighty ? "

The small geographical area, and the narrow range of civilization, known to our ancient authorities, their silence in regard to China and Japan ; the civilization of the first extending back ages prior to our era, together with other facts, warrant the assumptions, that other por-

tions of the earth unknown to them, were enjoying a high degree of refinement, and that even their known contemporaries, had reached, in many of the elements and conditions of the highest attained civilization, a social advancement and elevation, of which all record is lost. Portions of mankind are remotely alluded to, in the scriptures, of whose existence no other trace has reached us, and of whose conditions we remain in utter ignorance. And history records the names of many nations which have perished with the monuments of their civilization, or left behind them but feeble traces of their existence, or but a name.

In estimating ancient civilization and its degrees of intellectual, social, and material advancement, the extant literary fragments, and the more durable, far-reaching and reliable monumental remains of those early ages may be a sufficient data, if we consider each advance in art, science or literature, as a step in the progress of mankind, that indicates the point of civilization attained to. We may be warranted in assuming, that nations which had reached such degrees of excellence as are manifested in the fragments and remains still left, had made a corresponding progress in other; and even in superior departments of advance-

ment; all of the evidences and results of which, from their very nature, may have perished on their way down from a distant antiquity.

Writing, which is one of the most important of human inventions, and one of the most essential elements in the means of human progress, and the existence of which most clearly indicates an advanced degree of civilization, is an art that can be traced in its most perfected form, the phonetic, until lost to view, in the obscurity of the remotest ages. Writing, printing, and books, are alluded to in the book of Job, who it is computed, lived 1200 B. C. The terra-cotta tablets, discovered by Leyard among the ruins of ancient Nineveh, and supposed to have been stamped with movable type, contain phonetic inscriptions, and the hieroglyphics on Babylonian bricks, cylinders, &c., are also found to be phonetic. So the monumental hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt, which can be traced back to a period coeval with the earliest monuments, contain phonetic elements.

Writing, too, is an art, that has risen as a natural and necessary suggestion and product of the mind in a certain stage of advancement, and under certain social conditions and wants. A black belonging to a negro tribe on the west

coast of Africa, some years since invented a complete alphabet of his own language, in consequence of having heard of the use of such a mode of conveying words. While a Cherokee, in 1820, A. D., invented an alphabet of the Cherokee language, and also a system of numerals, under similar circumstances. Though the invention was here suggested by a knowledge of the existence of the art elsewhere, and although the tribes and races to which the inventors belonged, were uncivilized and rude, the existence and the invention indicated a contemporary civilization equal to the art, and so it is indicated, for the remotest period to which the existence of the art can be traced.

Science, the result of civilization, wealth, and leisure, and of a large and fixed accumulation of ascertained facts and deductions, existed during the earliest periods of which we have any knowledge. Many of the facts that constitute our present system of astronomy, and which are among the most elevated and intellectual deductions reached by the highest faculties of the mind, are known to have been understood by the most remote people of whom we have any distinct record. Astronomical observations, calculations, and tables were made and a calendar perfected by the Egyptians,

Indians, Persians, and Chaldeans, ages prior to the Christian era. The Hindoos were acquainted with the precession of the equinox, and its amount, 50'' in year. They have left observation of eclipses, descriptions of stars in the zodiac, and records of comets and meteoric showers, for many centuries. They had a knowledge of the sphericity of the earth, its diameter, and diurnal revolution, and the means of determining latitudes and longitudes. Centuries before Christ, the Chinese had arranged a catalogue of numerous stars; had taken a measure of the solstitial shadow, determined the obliquity and made a sexagonal division of the ecliptic. The Chaldeans had a knowledge of the mean motions of the moon, and of the period of 6793 days, termed the Chaldean period; in which her nodes make a revolution of the ecliptic. A knowledge of the constellations, and of the signs of the zodiac, go back to a very remote age. Several of the constellations are alluded to in Homer; and Arcturus, Orion and the Pleiades, are named in the Book of Job.

It may be difficult to accept the earliest dates to which some authorities trace back many of the higher deductions of science among the nations of antiquity; but whatever errors those

authorities may have fallen into, and whatever errors future investigations may correct; the most moderate and well attested dates to which such deductions can be traced, sufficiently demonstrate the high capabilities of mankind in past ages. The natural capabilities of mankind for the attainment of an advanced civilization, were, we have every warrant to suppose, as great, at an epoch reaching beyond all history or tradition as they now are. The Caucasian race, which we consider the most elevated variety of the species, the one we belong to, and to which we attribute the highest attained degree of civilization, existed as far back as the existence of mankind can be traced. Noah and his progenitors were, there is every reason to believe, Caucasian; his two sons, Shem and Japhet, being, according to the testimony and admission of all known authorities, the root of the two recognized branches of that division of the human family, including the ancient Indian, Persian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and kindred nations.

The investigations of Merton on the craniology of the ancient Egyptians, have, it is assumed, demonstrated them to have been of the Caucasian race. Nine tenths of the crania taken from the tombs, are pronounced to be of

that type, while among the cranial remains of their catacombs and tombs, as among the portraiture sculptured on their monuments, ranging back thousands of years from the present, are found forms which are assumed to belong to the most highly developed of the species. So a skull discovered by Leyard, in the north-west palace of Nineveh, and now in the British Museum, is, from its size and form, also assumed to belong to a highly developed and civilized race of great capacity, and to be identical in form, to the heads represented in the sculptures and bas-reliefs found among the ruins of ancient Assyrian monuments.

At those early periods, too, portions of the human family attained a civilization before the wrecks of which, modern mind and science pause in admiring wonder. And civilization and barbarism, in different degrees and forms, prevail as equally now as they prevailed during those remote ages among different portions of the Caucasian as among different portions of other races of mankind; while the great antiquity to which an elevated and a refined civilization can be traced, the advanced condition of the arts and sciences among many of the most ancient known nations; the literary fragments, astronomical calculations, and philo-

sophical speculations, that have descended to us; the material vestiges, architectural remains, sculptures, inscriptions, records, and minor objects of ancient art, found in every quarter of the earth; all, indeed, of the little that has reached us from a remote antiquity, bear proofs of the high range of the capabilities of mankind during those early eras, and suggest the existence of an advanced civilization, ages prior to the period to which they directly refer.

The first harbingers of civilization that appear to us in the darkness of the most distant antiquity, are but the vanishing points beyond which, into the more remote past, civilization may have extended to untold ages, and risen to the highest standards of human capabilities. In every known age, it has taken its rise, and reached its fullest developments on the rich soils and near the navigable waters of the temperate and tropical regions, and under the stimuli of peculiar advantages, has flourished in even the most unfavored latitudes and climates, and on the most unfavored soils. In what especial quarter of the earth it first originated, there exists no proof; nor does the little that is known of the past history of mankind, nor the fact that within the historic period the principal movements of civilization

have been from east to west, warrant the assumption to which they have given rise, of this direction being a law of their progress. Nor is there warrant for assuming that man is destined and adapted, in harmony with the different physical characteristics and degrees of development belonging to the different continents, to realize in each respectively, in an order from east to west, different and progressive degrees and phases of social, mental, and material development, from the early and crude to the highly-refined and elevated, as realized at the present day in western civilization, and which, it is assumed, is to receive its more full and perfect development in the new world, as the final and grand theatre on which is to be worked out and fulfilled man's higher mission and perfectionment.

All of the continents possess an average proportion of surface, an average number of localities, gifted with the favoring conditions essential to the requirements of a dense population and the highest forms of civilization. And who shall answer what degrees of populousness and of civilization they may have respectively realized during some period of the remote past, or may be destined to realize during some period of the future.

Asia, which is assumed to be destined and adapted to the lower forms of civilization, not only embraces within its limits seven hundred and fifty millions, or seven twelfths of the human family, but was, during many ages, the great historical continent on which was enacted some of the grandest events of human history and enlightenment, during periods in which a great portion of both Europe and America were the scenes of a profound barbarism. On the African continent, the conditions of which are assumed to be unfavorable to the advancement of human society, animal life at least has received its fullest development; while, according to Barth, Livingstone, Clapperton, and other African travellers, civilization of no low order once penetrated its central regions; so it flourished in the palmiest condition on its northern shores, on the banks of the Nile, and on the oases of the desert, and is now spreading over Southern Africa, developing into existence an empire unsurpassed by any other, in the rapidity of its growth, and the high character of its attainments and aims, demonstrating the adapt-
edness of that continent to the highest order of social and national development. Its native races of men are marked by their vigorous physical development; and according to the

testimony of more recent travellers, many of their varieties would, it is inferred, take, under proper conditions, a fair rank, intellectually and morally, with the white and other races. Of the twelve hundred millions estimated population of the earth, Africa is the abode of probably one hundred millions.

Europe, now occupied by some of the most enlightened and powerful nations of the earth, contains two hundred and sixty millions; while America, when discovered, contained a population not exceeding, it is supposed, thirty millions, since increased to about eighty millions, a small portion only of the first of which is known to have attained a certain degree of civilization, while of the latter, a large portion still remains in a state of barbarism. Yet this continent possesses all of the physical conditions essential to human progress. Though pronounced oceanic and humid in climate, and unfavorable to the higher orders of animal life, it contains large portions of surface which are dry and arid, or moderately humid, from elevation, distance from sea-board, and other causes. Animal life there has attained, in the massive proportions of the mastodon, in the horse and other forms of animal life, as evidenced in their fossil remains, the highest reach of develop-

ment, and teems in the countless numbers of buffalo, and innumerable other animal forms of a high order, that tenant hill and valley, mountain and plain. And there is every reason to conclude that there will sooner or later be found, in the unexplored strata, bone-caves, deposits, &c., of this continent, further and ample proofs of this high reach of indigenous animal development, many of the living results and evidences of which have long since disappeared, perhaps before the presence of a once dense and antagonist population; while the nobly-developed specimens — mental and physical — of the native races of man, with their extinct, and perhaps when discovered, their decayed civilization, assert for them a high rank in the family of mankind, for whom that continent may have been the earliest theatre of existence, and the first starting-point whence human progress and civilization commenced their career of extension from continent to continent, and their revolutions around the earth.

Whether the different physical characteristics of horizontal outline, surface, level, position, climate, soil, and other conditions of the respective continents of Asia, Europe, and America, as assumed, ever necessarily induced, or were

even equal to the flow of human progress, civilization, and empire, in a special direction from east to west, over and between the different continents, may be doubted. Geological, geographical, climatic, and other conditions, and changes are, however, ever in operation, causing continual movements, fluctuations, and migrations of populations and races in every direction. The alternate subsidences and upheavals of land, which have occurred in every section of the earth, since the advent of man on its surface ; which can be traced as far back as to embrace the existence of many forms of animal life long since extinct ; the submergence and emergence, disunion and reunion, of continents and islands, as they alternately rise above and sink below the ocean level, in ever varying positions, forms, and areas, are also active causes, tending to the distributions, separations, and diversities of mankind. While in every age, invading armies, — barbarian and civilized, — the spirit of enterprise, of traffic, of research, and emigration, have overleaped geographical impediments, and with the elements of civilization and empire, have traversed the earth in every direction.

Where the most ancient known civilization took its first rise, whether, as is questioned, it

originated in Egypt and extended to Asia, or the reverse ; or whether, as has been suggested, it had its origin in the northwest of Asia in periods beyond all known records, must ever remain problematical. The asserted law, of the progress of civilization from east to west, can apply to only a portion of the human family, to some of its modes of civilization, and to known periods. If Western Asia be claimed as the starting-point or cradle of civilization, and as the theatre of the earlier and cruder stages of human progress, that continent is found to have been, and still is, to its farthest eastern boundaries, the scene of civilized empires, unequalled in magnitude, population, wealth, and durability, by any known among the past or the present empires and civilizations of the West, while they embrace a large proportion of the human family, and date back to periods in which history can only find for Europe the evidences of a profound ignorance and barbarism. And it may be questioned, whether in many of the great elements of civilization, they have not surpassed the empires and civilizations of the West ; and whether the presence of these elements in their economy, may not have aided in perpetuating their existence, through periods of duration, never attained by western nations.

If a special direction in the movement of civilization and progress to the West has in reality taken place with the uniformity of a law, it is most likely to have occurred between continent and continent alone, revolving around the globe in the direction of the general set of the winds and currents, by which the inhabitants of the different continents would be both accidentally carried, and also most aptly tended, in their Oceanic explorations, which there is every reason to conclude, occurred in very ancient periods, from the advanced condition of geometry, astronomy and other sciences, among many ancient nations; with probably a knowledge of the magnet and its properties, allusions to which occur in the works of ancient writers. The course taken by civilization and progress in their movements over the earth, from other causes, both on continental areas and between them, have probably been through endless series of interchanges in every direction, in every portion of the earth, and under every modification due to geographical, geological, climatic, and other conditions, influences, and changes.

Our knowledge of the movements, conditions, and characteristics of the earlier civilizations, and our means of tracing back human history to its source, is very limited. The Mosaic writ-

ings, which were penned from 1500 to 1800 years before Christ, many thousand years after mankind were, according to even our chronologies, brought into being, and many ages after the period to which the existence of a written language and literature can be traced, are from ten to thirteen centuries earlier than any other ancient writings that have reached our literary collections, with the exception of the poems of Homer, of questionable date and origin. All beside, that has been transmitted to us from beyond the period of five hundred years before the Christian era, are found in the incidental allusions and references of writers who flourished since this date, or in the Egyptian hieroglyphics and papyri, and in the recently discovered tablets of Nineveh.

The dates to which the earliest acknowledged existence and civilization of mankind may be carried back, rest upon data of a very vague character. The chronologies of mankind are as varied as their civilizations, ranging in the period to which they assign the creation and the earliest existence of mankind, from that of 3600 B. C., as the lowest — given by Abbé Lipman, — to those given by the Chinese and Hindoos; the last extending back beyond two millions of years. Our chronologies relating to

the Mosaic creation and deluge, range from the 3600 B. C., of Abbé Lipman, through a great number of different computations, to the highest of 6990 B. C., given by the Alphonsine tables; while Josephus and the Septuagint, give 3800 B. C., and Usher, whose date is attached to our Bible, 4000 B. C., as the period of the creation, that of the deluge ranging throughout the different computations from 1500 to 1700 years later.

The latter of these dates are more recent than the periods to which can be traced the existence and the advanced civilization of some of the known nations of antiquity, or than the records found on the still existing monuments of ancient Egypt, to which some authorities assign an antiquity of 3000 B. C., and assume Egyptian civilization, science, and art to have attained at that period, their highest degrees of perfectionment, and to have commenced their decline; which would carry back the commencement and existence of a known advanced civilization to a period so remote as to be lost in the mists of time; a civilization which must have required centuries to reach, and which only embraces the small portion of the earth to which it refers.

When we go to the archives of science, to

geological and cosmical facts, for evidences of the antiquity of the present physical conditions of the earth as adapted to human existence, we are warranted in assuming for it a remoteness only to be measured by those vast periods of time that belong to the great geological and cosmical processes and changes that affect its surface. The great vivifying principle of existence, light, existed back to immeasurable ages; that which at this moment reaches us from some of the most distant telescopic nebulæ, left its source millions of years ago. The immense periods occupied in some of the secular movements of the earth, and the solar system to which it belongs, embracing cycles of millions of years; the great thickness of the different strata of the earth; the order of their succession, and of the succession of the different organic remains by which they are respectively distinguished, indicate intervals of formation too immense to be grasped by the intellect.

Human bones, and works of art, have been found associated with extinct animal remains, in strata now far beneath the surface; in peat-beds, bogs, gravel-pits, and deposits; or beneath successive strata enclosing the erect stumps and prostrate forms of ancient forests, alternating with marine and fluvatile strata, the formation

and frequent upheavals and subsidences of which have occupied indefinitely vast periods, during which man lived ; yet far beyond which, among more and more ancient formations, future research, it is conjectured, may still trace the evidences of his existence. Proofs of the vast antiquity of mankind are multiplying continually, and attest the futility of all human endeavors to approximate, even, the period at which the existence of mankind commenced, or to limit the remoteness of time prior to any known historical epoch when a high civilization may have existed in lands unknown, or even known, to ancient history.

The superior geological antiquity of the American continent to the other continents, and with it, the great antiquity of the indigenous races, rest upon evidences that are accepted by the highest authorities on the subject. If to the assumption of the probable occupation of a western continent, and other unhistorical portions of the earth, by civilized races, and of their having been the theatres of high national developments in past ages, it may be questioned, where are the evidences of such conditions, in the existence of works of art, of a comparatively indestructible character, the remains of architecture, sculpture, metallic productions, or

Of more fragile materials and relics, under circumstances that are known to preserve them intact from decay for ages? it may be answered, they exist in every quarter of the earth, and belong to a succession of periods that goes back beyond all history, and is extended further and further into the past, with the discoveries of each year; that among the changes going on in every part of creation, the earth has undergone, and is still undergoing, ceaseless changes and interchanges in every one of her conditions.

The materials of the centre and of the circumference, the interior and the exterior, the poles and the tropics, are probably in continuous course of interchange. The materials of present continents and lands are sinking beneath the surface or wasting away, as past ones have sunk or have wasted, and others are forming or are rising to the surface, and occupying portions of the earth before covered with water. The present poles have possibly been, and will again be, portions of the tropics. Evidences of the once tropical character of the arctic regions abound in the fossilized remains of tropical plants and animals, which mark as strongly the arctic as other portions of the earth, and indicate past changes in its temperature, which may have resulted from changes

in its axis, its constitution, its position in space, in solar radiation, or from the periodic changes which occur in the eccentricity of its orbit, and the consequent changes, more or less extreme, that occur in the relative temperatures of its winters and summers, of its different hemispheres, and of its whole mass during those cycles.

That the most extreme of the changes of the earth alluded to may take place without violence to the assumed conditions of its stability, we may easily believe. We have evidence of the molecular movements of solids, in the movements of the glacial formations. From the molecular movements and interchanges going on in the earth, from her axial and orbital oscillations, her oblateness of form, her poles and her tropics; her interior and her exterior material may change their positions relatively to her mass, so slowly, through the insensible change of positions and interchange going on between her material, as not to affect the stability of her movements, predicated upon the compensating causes cognizant to the astronomer.

The remains of past ages and civilizations may, with their material productions, have thus sunk out of sight beneath the surface, imbedded in strata, now unrevealed to human inspection.

Ancient traditions and writers allude to geological cataclysms in various portions of the earth, during which extensive areas of land were submerged, and others elevated, and geological research has demonstrated the frequency and the magnitude of these movements.

The fossilized remains that have been discovered in the strata of the earth, represent but a fractional portion, and are a most imperfect record of the varieties and conditions of the living bodies by which it has been tenanted. The most advanced views of the day even question the evidences of progression from lower to higher types of organization in the animal and vegetable worlds, as manifested in the records of geology, recognizing, as these views do, the evidences of igneous unfossiliferous rocks having originated from sedimentary deposits which have been indurated and crystallized by heat and fusion; and also the fact — become more apparent in each advance in geological research — that plants and animals have existed on the earth during periods immeasurably beyond the period to which existing geological evidences of their existence go into the past; and that the greater and greater divergence found to exist between existing types and past ones, as these are traced back, and the conse-

quently great contrasts that exist between the comparatively few low earliest types, and the many high recent ones, may be illusive as proofs of progress, or as indications of the order of progression, and may only indicate or be due to the operation of aqueous, igneous, and other agencies of destruction, by which the earlier types were obliterated, or to successive upheavals and subsidences, and the consequently successive emigrations of higher and higher orders of life from lands long emerged and inhabited, to new lands that were emerging from the ocean and becoming more and more tenantable.

Only a small fractional portion of the surface and material of the earth that could become the matrix or the deposit of human remains or relics, has been, ever will, or can be, reached or examined. Thus, although the earliest existence of mankind can be traced no further back into an unknown antiquity and under no higher degrees of advancement than are indicated by the discovered remains and relics belonging to the stone, bronze, and iron periods, or to the bone-caves, tumuli, cairnes, Swiss-dwellings, and earthy-deposits at present attracting the attention of science, he may have been in existence, and risen to high degrees of advancement dur-

ing indefinite ages before, and no trace of him or of his works be recognized, discovered, discoverable, or extant.

The recent discovery of iron implements among those of stone and bronze, indicate their contemporary use, each we may suppose according to the means of the possessor, and may also indicate a corresponding degree of social advancement, during some portions, at least, of even the period of the stone implements, which are assumed to represent the earliest existence, and the lowest conditions of society and art, being of an indefinite antiquity, and having been discovered in connection with human bones found among the bones of extinct animals, and bearing the marks of an equal antiquity. Their rare occurrence in connection with iron implements, or the total absence of these among their earlier specimens, together with the rapid oxidation and destruction of iron, places the antiquity of the use of iron, with a corresponding degree of advancement, beyond the reach of human estimation, and leaves it comparatively unlimited in its possible or conjectural ascent into the past.

In further proof of the great antiquity of civilized society, there are found among the literary and scientific vestiges of ancient civili-

zation, traces of what may be regarded as the wrecks of a higher civilization that had passed away. And there are found among the traditions, and in the knowledge of existing rude or savage tribes, traces of what may be considered as the memorials of a past civilization of which no record is left.

Evidence has also been adduced to prove the existence, prior to any known nation, of a highly-enlightened people, to whom India, Egypt, Persia, Babylon, China, and most of the primitive nations of whom we have a knowledge, were more or less indebted for their civilization and the advanced knowledge they possessed of many of the arts and sciences. Most of the known nations of antiquity have, it is maintained, traced the origin of their civilization to some more ancient and enlightened people than themselves, while the existence of some of the highest deductions of science, among ancient nations whose general advancement was unequal to such results, and the general similarity observed in the traditions, usages, and beliefs of all known nations and peoples of every age, also prove, it is maintained, their common origin from some more enlightened source. The ancient estimates of the hours of the rising of the stars, of the length of the

longest day of summer, of the shortest day of winter, and of a degree deduced from the measurement of the earth's circumference, corresponding, as it is maintained they do, to the latitude of forty-nine or fifty degrees, and not to the latitudes occupied by the nations who were supposed to have adopted those standards, are further cited in proof of their origin from an enlightened people in that latitude ; while the recorded populousness of northwestern Asia in that latitude in ancient times, the many nations and peoples who traced their origin from that region, and the many vestiges of ancient civilization found there ; mines, mining implements, knives, daggers, gold and copper ornaments, urns, pottery, medals, mirrors, horse-trappings, and other fragments of art, many of them the products of a high order of workmanship, are also cited as warranting the same inference.

The history of every civilized nation of antiquity and of the most remote period, records a prior existence and destruction of immense stores of literature, which had been accumulated through centuries of enlightenment, then been destroyed and scattered through civil disorder or national misfortune and decay. It is difficult to grasp the vastness of the amount that is

known to have been at various periods and belonging to various nations, thus destroyed. And in the literature of the most ancient known civilized nations, there have existed scattered fragments of a national literature more remote, that had been gathered from the wrecks of a past accumulation, by the curiosity and enthusiasm of the learned.

The extant monuments of ancient Egypt, the pyramids, assumed to have originally been temples of worship; the monotholitic and cavern temples and tombs, and the elaborately sculptured and hieroglyphed structures, represent, it has been argued, civilizations that existed anterior to the periods of their construction; each class of monuments being the successive products of distinct ages, peoples, and civilizations, and each bearing evidences of an abrupt transition from class to class, successively and suddenly introduced from different sources and civilizations foreign to Egypt, and running back in a reverse order into a higher and higher antiquity. A prehistoric civilization of great antiquity has also been claimed for Europe.

In many quarters of the earth, in the New as in the Old World, are found among the most ancient ruins, the introduced remains, the sculptured fragments, reliefs, ornaments, records, and

the gigantic monoliths, that once formed parts of monuments still more ancient. The largest masses of stone ever moved by man, hewn granite, sixty-two feet long, twenty broad, and fifteen thick, brought from distant quarries, and raised from twenty to thirty feet from the ground, are found forming parts of the ruined structures of Balbec, of an unknown age and people, and are supposed to have belonged to prior and successive structures still more ancient. And the ruins of monuments which were known to the Peruvians at the period of the conquest in the sixteenth century, as the remains of a people and an age more ancient than themselves, contain hewn stones thirty feet long, fifteen wide, and six thick, taken from distant quarries, and elevated many feet. Massive architectural remains also exist in many of the Pacific Islands, colossal stones, obelisks, busts, &c.; some of the statues on Eastern Island, measuring twenty-seven feet long, by nine feet in diameter. These stately vestiges of unknown periods and races, which are found in every quarter of the earth, reveal a striking chapter in the history of perished civilizations, and undeniable evidences that these have arisen and fallen, in different periods, and quarters

of the earth unknown to the civilizations of its other parts.

In America, existed for ages, unknown to the Old World, powerful and enlightened nations, aristocratic, monarchic, and republican forms, of government, systems of law and of religion, sculptures and hieroglyphics, roads, aqueducts, and other works of art, equalling in style grandeur of design, massiveness, durability, and finish, those of the Old World; an advanced condition of many of the arts and some of the sciences, and a language still existing among the rude tribes of the day, more philosophical in structure than our own, and probably derived from a civilization proportionally advanced. There also, among the indigenous nations, was found an astronomical knowledge implying a great advance during their own, or some previous, era, in one of the most abstruse of sciences. The perfection of their calendar was a triumph that could have been achieved only by a nice knowledge of that science, in which the mind has manifested its highest power. They had some acquaintance with the movements and relations of the heavenly bodies, possessed a series of observations extending through many ages, and a knowledge of many astronomical facts founded, perhaps, upon the

remains of a primitive system of astronomy, the leading principles of which have seemingly furnished the germs, and mark the astronomical systems, of most of the ancient civilized peoples known to us.

Some evidences of even an acquaintance with the principles of optics and the use of the telescope and microscope, among the nations of antiquity, are also to be traced among the preserved facts, data, and allusions that have reference to former ages. Lenses have been found among the ruins of Nineveh. Aristotle and Plutarch allude to the use of mirrors in surveying the heavens, to glass burning-lenses, and to concave and convex metallic mirrors, among the Greeks. Pythagoras alludes to the hills and the valleys of the moon. Bailey maintains that the stellar character of the milky-way was known to the ancients. Many of the planetary bodies, it is stated, are named in the Braminical sacred writings. Egyptian gems have been found, so finely engraved as to have needed for their execution, the aid of the microscope. Ulloa asserts that he had seen in Mexico, plain, convex, and concave mirrors, some of them of great magnifying power, and exhibiting a delicacy of workmanship, indicative of great perfection in optics. While

among the sculptures of an ancient Mexican temple, has been found the representation of a human figure apparently surveying the heavens through a tube.

Innumerable evidences of a similar character could be added from other ancient sources. Modern research is continually increasing the number, extending further back the antiquity, and finding higher standards in the attainments of the arts and sciences cultivated by the ancient world. Indeed no limits can be placed upon the remoteness of their antiquity, or the reach of their perfectionments. Each added discovery in the history and remains of ancient civilization, attests still more strongly the pre-eminence of human genius, in the remotest ages, and leaves the present generations of mankind no ground to assume for the species, a progression toward greater perfectibility or capability of attainment, or to deny to the generations that existed anterior to all known historical eras, the capabilities that would enable them to reach the highest forms of civilization.

Every known nation that has played its part in the history of civilization, has run its course generally from rudeness to refinement and power and then to decay in the course of a few centuries; and the different races of mankind

oscillate through the same succession of phases, though in far more lengthy periods. Under highly favoring conditions, the progress of human advancement in all that constitutes a high civilization, goes on with so great a rapidity, as to render a few centuries sufficient to raise a people from barbarism to a high point of enlightenment, power, and refinement. Under such conditions, the primitive nations and races of mankind would require but a few centuries to unfold the powers of the mind to the highest reach of human attainment. Even the period that stretches beyond our vision toward the age attributed to the Noahchian deluge, would suffice for the revolutions of innumerable contemporary successions of nations and races, through all the varied phases, degrees and varieties of civilization and of barbarism.

The Arabian race sprung from a state of nomadic rudeness into a refined and an elevated civilization, distinguished by an intellectual cultivation and by an advance in science and literature that stand out in striking relief upon the records of human enlightenment, and that have materially contributed to modern attainment. One of the great media of ancient knowledge, gathering the wrecks of science and art that were floating on the stream of time

from more anciently civilized sources, and handing them down to posterity with the results of their own genius, they have largely contributed to the advanced condition of modern science, and have had their influence in enabling our age to reach, as early as it did, the discovery of the laws of gravitation, and to explore the fields of space with a scientific scrutiny, which is gradually unfolding the laws and conditions of its mechanism, forms, forces, movements, imponderable elements and agencies; yet the progress of the race through the whole circle of conditions, from rudeness to civilization, refinement, declension, and then again to barbarism, may be comprised within the period of a few centuries.

The civilized nations of America, who were in full vigor at the period of the Conquest, and in some respects as advanced as were then the nations of Europe, are, with their monuments and other remains and evidences of their civilization, already as lost to view in the obscurity of but a few centuries, as though they belonged to a remote age. And were China and Japan, the oldest, most populous, and among the most highly civilized of the nations of the earth, now to sink into decay and extinction, a few centuries would suffice to obliterate most of

the material vestiges of their civilizations, characterized as are their populations by usages and habits of life in many respects so peculiar as to have originated few works of art of a highly massive and durable character, or that could, after suffering the decay of a few centuries, serve to measure the degrees, to indicate the character, or to mark for a much longer period even the existence of the civilizations to which they belong.

So during the last few centuries, the nations of modern Europe have advanced from a state of comparative rudeness, as regards the higher conditions of civilization and the higher departments of knowledge, to a very elevated point of attainment, although they were in possession of more or less knowledge, science, art, and literature, derived from many different sources and periods, from antiquity, from remote and from contemporary civilizations, nations, and races, long before they were stimulated to the elevating activity which now distinguishes them.

Those rapid transitions from a state of intellectual repose or torpor to a highly excited and elevating activity of mind, have often occurred in the history of mankind, and are due to a complication and sum of causes that can be but

vaguely approximated. The frequency of their occurrence, their rise and course, their causes and effects, are determined by laws as fixed in their operation and results as any in creation.

Man in every age and condition is aroused to inquiry by the phenomena of the universe that surrounds him, and is awed into thoughtfulness by those silent energies that manifest to him the presence and the workings of an invisible and inscrutable power. In harmonized antagonism with some of those phenomena, and in sympathy with others, his attention is aroused even in his rudest states, to the study of their characters and workings, that he may evade the evil and attain the good, and satisfy his more elevated aspirations after knowledge.

The relations that exist between the phenomena of creation and the faculties of his mind, being ever the same, are ever tending it to similar deductions and conclusions, with an earnestness of effort, an approach to truthfulness, with a rapidity of development and a measure of results proportioned to the degrees of favoring conditions. The faculties and powers of the mind have ever existed with the like diversity in the force, characters, and fluctuations of their manifestations among many different races, communities, and nations, and

so have mental advancement and knowledge. Every degree of these in all the diversities of their manifestations, have ever, at various periods and through the course of human existence, appeared and disappeared in endless succession, according to the fluctuating conditions that determined them.

Every age and civilization owes its knowledge more or less to preceding ages and civilizations, and to the remotest periods ; and hands down to succeeding ages and civilizations the knowledge gathered from its predecessors, diminished or increased, modified, obscured, or enlightened by the conditions, the conventional views and standards of the particular period and people, as well as by the peculiarities of individual minds.

All the knowledge that has existed and that does exist, is one connected, related whole, — a manifestation and symbol of the whole united intellect of humanity, in which the temporary obscurations and enlightenments of different races, nations, and periods, are but like the shadows and lights that flit on a sunny day over the landscape without disturbing its unity. The sum total of the powers and the results of human intellect, as well as its distribution and apportionment, in its varied degrees of develop-

ment, among different divisions of mankind, remain the same throughout every age.


Throughout every age, civilization, refinement, and knowledge are carried on and perpetuated by some particular masses of mankind or nations. And throughout every age, science and literature are the peculiar pursuits of some particular individual minds or class of minds. These, stimulated with a crowd of other minds to an excessive and elevating activity, by the accumulated knowledge and other conditions of their period, are some of the proximate causes that have in every age led to the extraordinary rapidity of development that has often taken place in civilization, or in some of its departments.

From the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, a host of great minds, with countless others of less note, were aroused into a wide, extended, untiring activity, which has developed in a comparatively short period, the physical sciences, to the profound reach they have attained in our civilization. The eye has been furnished with artificial powers that have extended the vision, and the investigations of science into the regions of immensity, into the depths of space, and among the distant phenomena of the universe; also into the deep recesses, and among

the minute structures of a previously invisible world of animal, vegetable, and mineral existence. Commerce, enterprise, and science have explored the surface-strata and ocean-depths of the earth, and enlarged in a corresponding degree the knowledge of the physical conditions, the vital organisms, and the laws and forces belonging to it. Investigations in all the known arts and sciences, embracing inquiries into the conditions, laws, and forces of the universe, were pursued with an excited eagerness and enthusiasm, by countless minds, to results before which the thoughtful may pause in wonder at the reach of human research.

As human attainment makes great and rapid progress under some conditions, under others it makes equally great and rapid retrogressions. According to that law of nature by which the forces or conditions that produce oscillations of any character act and react in opposite directions with equal intensity, the knowledge and power of races and nations as often retrograde or are lost in short periods of time as they are gained.

Modern European civilization, like every other civilization, has originated from innumerable sources, many of them obscure, remote and unknown, yielding through every period many



simultaneous results, and pouring in their concurring, ever-diversified influences in an unceasing tide, all blending in producing the one general and ever-varying form of civilization belonging to modern European nations, which, though more immediately owing its elements to the civilized and half-civilized nations that belonged to, and that overran ancient and mediæval Europe, is still more extensively indebted to sources far more obscure, remote, numerous, and beyond the reach of human estimation,—to Egypt, Phœnicia, India, Arabia, Etruria, Greece, Rome; to civilization and to barbarism of many types and ages; to moral and political causes innumerable; to soil and climate, and a thousand unappreciable conditions that elude observation and go beyond its reach.

European civilization, upon which we found our hopes for the future and permanent general elevation of mankind, belongs to but a point of time, the present; and to a race of men but a few centuries emerged from barbarism. Thus, during the latter period of the Roman empire, England, France, and Germany were occupied by communities in a condition but a few removes from barbarism, and as such they are represented by Cæsar, Tacitus, and contemporary writers. Centuries after the Christian era,

the nations of England, France, and Germany remained in a state of rudeness and ignorance, with laws, religion, and usages in their crudest condition, and until a comparatively recent period, they possessed neither arts, science, nor literature.

The history of European nations, races, and civilizations is a mere item in the mass of national and social events, of national and social fluctuations, risings and falls, that make up man's past and present history. His past history we see through the obscurity of distance, scattered over large spaces of time, and presented in lengthy series of events, detail being out of view. The varied national and race conditions and fluctuations, the social and intellectual elevations and depressions, that filled those spaces, that formed those series, are also refracted and distorted by the successive minds and mediums through which they have been communicated to us, and appear in illy-defined outlines, only approximately expressing the general characteristics, the average results, of their respective periods or ages.

The social, intellectual, and material progress and refinements that would harmonize with the outlines still left of ancient society, would imply in many instances a degree and order of

civilization much higher than has been accorded to the past, which is too often undervalued by the present. Even contemporary nations, races, and civilizations mutually judge each other's conditions, attainments, and characteristics with great injustice, ignorance, prejudice, and disparagement; and the ignorance and error with which a present age and civilization estimates past ages and civilizations, are probably as much greater as the difficulties in the way of a correct estimate.

Each age of which anything is known, has left traces of a civilization distinguished by some characteristic superiority and unsurpassed in its own species of excellence by any that preceded or that followed it; and equal degrees of advancement, in different modes of civilization, are marked by equal degrees and by different modes of relative superiority; while the modern civilization, upon which we found our hopes of permanent and advanced improvement, is simply another and a new modification, superior to all past civilizations in some, and inferior in other elements that constitute human elevation.

The remains of art, science, literature, language, institutions, and customs found resembling others, remote in time and place from

each other, have in many instances sprung up unsuggested the one by the other, as necessary results from the inherent powers of man developed and acting under certain conditions. Although absolutely similar conditions and combinations of conditions, could not twice occur to give a second time origin to absolutely similar forms of social and national organizations, the same general forms and modes of civilization may, with the changing phases of mankind, have been rolling each through its cycle of time, disappearing and renewed again and again, through all the changes their limits of variation admit of.

Civilization and all of its manifestations, material and mental, its institutions, arts, science, literature, being the natural spontaneous products of the mind, from which they grow, according to the developing and modifying conditions that surround it; they can vary only within certain limits, determined by man's means of varying the manifestations of his different powers. His agency and the conditions that surround him, have comparatively small limits, both as respects those powers, and the materials with which he has to deal. His highest conceptions could not realize a piece of architecture or any other work of art, ma-

terially different from such as are known. He would still have to work with the same powers and deal with the same materials and conditions, and combine them with reference to the same natural laws, in every instance ; and variety in the degrees and forms of civilization, is equally limited by the unchangeableness and limits of human powers and conditions.

Nations rise by a law of man's being under certain degrees of his enlightenment, and run into differences, determined by the internal and external conditions and influences that act upon them. Each with all its peculiar characteristics, is but a result, an event, a fact, originated, modelled, moulded by preceding events. Each receives its character from preceding and contemporary nations and conditions ; each gives out to contemporary and future nations, its peculiar influences to modify and to mould their character and being. All from the commencement of nations in all their diversities of national era, place and character, down to the present, are but a succession of cause and effect, that link together in one connected scheme, the nations that have been and that are ; the succession still to go on in unbroken continuity and embrace in the same scheme, all the nations of the future. Each, as have been those of the

past and of the present, will be developed under different conditions, into different results; each will leave behind it, as others have left, some characteristic traces, as the links of continuity. Not that continuity by which a great social, moral, or political development, or truth never perishes, but by which each rises as an effect, becomes a cause, does its work, produces its given effect, and perishes; its modified germ alone perpetuated in the effects it gives rise to, which, like its parent germ, becomes a cause of some new effect, and thus in perpetual succession the parent fact dying, its germ endlessly perpetuated in the train of sequences it sets in movement, and in the vital spirit of national existence which flows from nation to nation, and which will, as it circulates through the different nations and sections of the earth, be under the different conditions by which it may be influenced; ever simultaneously animated by elevating activities, and depressed by their absence, and ever simultaneously realize under those varied conditions, all the varied phases of enlightenment, prosperity and power, of ignorance, poverty and weakness; the human family in its totality, ever realizing throughout all ages within certain limits of variation, the same diversity in the conditions of its different por-

tions, masses or divisions; and these diverse conditions are but the different phases under which, for wise ends, mankind exist, and through which they revolve. All of the different phases yielding equal degrees of enjoyment and happiness, under equal degrees of prosperity and welfare in the different modes of prosperity and welfare belonging to the different phases; the standards of enjoyment and happiness being ever determined by and ever conforming themselves to the conditions and means which the different phases supply for their gratification.

CHAPTER IX.

FLUCTUATIONS IN SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIFE.

ONE of the great developing principles of social and national prosperity lies in the intrinsic conditions of the individuals and masses that form the social and national body; individual character making up national character, individual effort national effort: these are the determining elements in human agency, by which it elaborates from surrounding conditions, results elevating or lowering to individual and to national welfare, and man, in mental harmony with the requirements of human welfare, will possess such a character, and make such efforts as tend to elevating results; but his being in such harmony, possessing such a character, and making such efforts, will depend again upon a sum of conditions and influences but little determined or controlled by reason, and superior to himself.

Elevating conditions and influences arise, and

give to periods and nations a high character ; nations rise to prosperity, power, and refinement, then sink into luxury, corruption, and decay, by inevitable laws that lead mankind in endless succession through the same circle of changes. Many of the conditions that might be viewed as propitious to the stability and enlargement of national prosperity, are frequently its degenerated results, that have grown into reacting causes of its decline, and become harbingers and promoters of national decay. Even the most valued conditions of national welfare, and the happiest phases of national existence, have their evil tendencies and accompaniments ; great national prosperity leads to national wealth and refinement ; refinement runs into excess ; vitiation of morals, and decline of religion, inevitably accompany or follow, and according to their degree, tend to national abasement and decay. Great perfectionment in the products of industry, science, and art, which are among the proudest boasts of civilization, are too often attained by that extreme subdivision of labor, and by a system of mechanical perfectionments, that tend to degrade the man ; while great advance in civilization, and great increase in wealth and power, are ever accompanied by a corresponding degree

of pauperism and misery, degradation and vice, which, like compensating re-agents, prevail, according to statistics, among different national populations, in some proportion to the relative positions these hold in the scale of civilization, industry, and wealth.

Even national enlightenment is attended by its compensating reactions against national welfare, and is the source of a large class of errors, and but an element among the innumerable elements that enter into the mental constitution, conditions, and determinations of communities and nations. The general mental results of enlightened communities and nations are as equally determined by causes above man's control as are those of the unenlightened. As knowledge advances, increases in complexity, and becomes disseminated, the opinions, views, and aims of a community become more varied, complex, antagonistic, and conflicting; then to the degree to which the public mind turns to active inquiry and the investigation of truth, false doctrines and theories, the fruits of a more active productiveness, increase in number, and have to be combated. Thus mental culture, with the spirit of inquiry, the love of investigation, instead of tending to unanimity of opinion, tend, on the contrary, so strongly to diver-

sity, to antagonism, and to unsettledness of opinion, as to reduce the general sum of the varied views that arise on complicated social or political problems, and the decisions and results that grow out of them, to a compensated mean, approximately and relatively just and correct, however, to the degree of enlightenment by which it has been determined, yet in which the decisions and their results can only be regarded as the necessary products of a sum of conditions and of inevitable laws above man's control.

Nor is human wisdom equal to either detect or control the lowering influences, causes and effects that often concur in undermining national prosperity, and which at times arise with startling suddenness from the passions, errors, and vices of a period, to excesses that plunge nations into hasty decay, the downward career to which, not unfrequently commences in the midst of apparent prosperity and power.

Thus the highest developments of civilization and enlightenment, and the highest reach in the science of industry, and in a national prosperity, with their accompaniments of art, science, literature, wealth, and refinement, upon which nations and civilizations found their claims to permanence and security, contain within them-

selves, the principles of reaction and decay, which is a universal law, embracing the best conditions of national welfare, and the most wisely laid schemes of public good.

Man—every vital organism—has an average rate of growth, which circumstances may retard or may accelerate; an average period of maturation and existence, which death may shorten or may end; an average rate of decline into decay and extinction, which circumstances may hasten or may retard. So nations have an average rate of development, which circumstances may quicken or may delay; an average period of maturation and existence, which circumstances may endanger, shorten or end; and an average rate of decline, which circumstances may delay or may accelerate; and like individual man, after passing through their various phases of development, maturity and decay, can never themselves recover their lost vitality, nor renew their existence. If that recovery and renewal occur, it can only be from the presence of a new sum of elevating conditions that may operate upon their declining powers, or their disorganized elements, and carry them through a new cycle of existence. While as the tendency and ability of mankind to mass in large numbers and over wide areas under one government,

depend upon their degrees of enlightenment and governmental science, the longevity of nations has probably some relation to the magnitude of their populations and of the territorial areas they occupy. But it is their inevitable destiny sooner or later, after having run their career and sunken into decay, to become disorganized and extinct, although their disunited elements may remain, and in future generations, under new and favoring conditions may again arise into new national organizations.

Persuasives to the exercise of those social and national virtues considered essential to national stability and welfare, were as wisely uttered and written in ages past as they now are, and were not more unequal to stay the downward tendency to national demoralization, or to arrest decline, when adverse conditions tended to them. Throughout every age to the present, the utterances and acts of wisdom and of folly, of virtue and of vice, have been reiterated in the same forms, degrees, and relative proportions to each other, among mankind, and with the same average effect upon human condition; and that law of society by which great effort and consequent elevation are followed by a lowering reaction, is the common law that consigns man to continually renewed efforts; he

labors, gains his ends, and rests from his work, until the consequences of reaction, either compel or incite him to renewed exertion ; and that tendency in society to reaction from an attained point of perfectionment or advancement, belongs to the laws that keep in ordained action the powers of the race.

All the good that man accomplishes in the work of social improvement, all the social evils that result from his action, and return upon and retask his efforts to conquer, spring from different degrees, proportions, and combinations of his instinctive, intuitive, reasoned endeavors to satisfy his aims at well-being and enjoyment, or to gratify or satisfy the good and the evil principles and promptings of his nature. He acts but the part that his nature fits and impels him to act, and makes those efforts by which alone, as an ordained means, he can reach and maintain his destined elevation ; those acts and their effects are destined causes and effects in the scheme of his being.

All lowering reactions and influences, internal disorders, wars, invasions, subjugations, impoverishment of soil, physical changes, and other apparent causes of decay, due either directly or indirectly to human agency, are but secondary causes among the causes that tend

nations, with their institutions, monuments, arts, science, and literature, to declension and extinction ; the primary underlying agencies of which spring from that inherent tendency to decline which is the common destiny and a law of every organism and of every organization, material, political, or national, which is evolved and carried by developing forces through cycles of growth, to a culminating maturity. It is the wound-up weight that sinks to its rest ; the coiled-up spring that has unfolded and spent its force.

Alternate elevation and declension is the lot of all varieties of mankind. The Caucasian, equally with other races, are found existing under the most degrading conditions ; and no race rises throughout its different portions, equally and in unbroken course of improvement in the different modes and to all of the different highest points of attainment of which the race is capable, but its different portions progresses, each in its time, and in its own special mode of progress, to certain degrees of matured perfectionment, determined by its degrees of favoring conditions and susceptibility to improvement, and then sinks back into decadence or disorganization, either to repeat under modified forms, new cycles of existence, or to pass

away ; while the general progress of the race may be to the still higher degrees of perfectionment, of which it may be susceptible, through ascending alternations of advance and decline going on among the different portions, communities, or nations of the race. And so of the different portions of the whole human family or aggregate of races ; each may alternately rise to certain points and modes of maturity, and then decline to lower conditions, while the general progress of the whole may be to still higher conditions, even to a maturity of the highest human capability, from which it may again react to lower conditions, and thus be destined to pass through, as it may already have passed through, ever-alternating phases of elevation and of declension.

The varied fluctuations which occur in the fertility and the sterility, the population and depopulation, of different regions of the earth, and in the rise and decline of nations, races, and civilizations, though more apparently and immediately due to geographical, geological, cosmical, and other physical causes above man's control, and to the injury he unconsciously or selfishly inflicts upon the favoring physical conditions of soil, climate, and vegetable and animal nature that surround him, and upon his own

more remote and general interests ; are, with all their causes and effects, but parts of a more wide and general scheme, the results of more wide and general laws ; and subserve their special and general ends in the economies, harmonies, adjustments and interests of earth and of mankind.

The complacency with which national masses regard the degrees of advancement they reach, their trust in its stability or its continuance, are unaffected by the past lessons contained in the history and experience of the world, and are probably as old as human society. The masses of mankind, still circling through the different phases of civilization, and oscillating from one degree and character of perfectionment to another, ever have been, and will be, possessed with the delusive idea of having reached a stable point of civilization from which they are not to react. There will ever be, comparatively, few minds capable of looking ahead of the mass around them ; of making a more true estimate of the present, and of foreseeing, more or less clearly, the tendencies of the social movement ; capable of seeing, foreshadowed in the future, many of the accessions that are to adorn and elevate society ; and capable of perceiving the principles of decay at work, in

undermining the social prosperity, and leading to declension.

Philosophize or moralize as wisely or as loudly as they may, on the intrinsic determinations and tendencies of the national or social movement, their speculations or their warnings rarely reach or affect the national mind; the mass composing it are all too busied, each in his own sphere of thought and action, to have the time, capacity, or disposition to understand the general and remote tendencies of the scheme that surrounds them. The popular mind, the great mass, is moved by the impulses, conditions, and wants of the present, without looking far ahead. The great tide of humanity rolls on blindly to its destiny, and ignorant of its future, under laws too profound and expansive for human comprehension, and with enough of egotism and ignorance to be satisfied with the present point of attainment, which, however imperfect, is, in every civilized nation, far higher than can be comprehended by the public mind; the far greater portion of this having not the slightest general acquaintance with what has been done in the different higher departments of knowledge and social advance, of which even the cultivated gain but a general idea.

Every community and nation, has, due to the circumstances that determine its mental conditions, its degree of mental power, cultivation, activity, enlightenment, and tendency to elevating inquiry, such as the degree, the character, and the tendencies of its civilization, the relative proportions of its masses enjoying physical well-being, and elevating and enlightening influences, to those who labor under depressing conditions and tendencies, only a certain capacity, a definite limit of ability, to acquire and accumulate, retain and develop, grasp and apply the fruits of human attainment, the facts of art, science, and literature, and is enabled to reach only a certain proportional amount of the knowledge open to human attainment, and certain degrees of excellence, only in certain departments of advancement, far short of the whole number of departments open to human enquiry; and is benefited by the knowledge it accumulates, only to the degree to which it appropriates and applies that knowledge. Much of it thus gathered by civilized nations of every age, is hoarded away and sooner or later sinks into neglect, and lies unused and forgotten, unless by the curious few, or perishes on its way to future generations, nations or civilizations.

Science is probably not, as has been assumed,

a gradual and progressive growth, rising from development to development through successive ages, from data handed down from people to people, century to century, so much as it is a progressive growth whose cycle of development and decline is limited, more or less closely, to certain periods, nations, civilizations and quarters of the earth; each cycle having to a greater or lesser extent, its starting-point in scientific data previously circulating among some of the different sections of mankind, and belonging to the general and fluctuating fund of scientific knowledge, in the possession of the whole human family. Science, like other human attainments, has its periods of general, as well as of local, progress and retrogression. There are periods in national life when the science of a people, after having run through its course of progress and served its purposes in the national life, and as an auxiliary in developing the arts, ceases to attract attention, and sinks into neglect and decay, even while the arts which are founded upon it, still flourish. Long before it perishes, its culture may cease. Its records may be scattered by national misfortune, and in the event of national disruption and extinction, it, and the language in which it was recorded, may be lost to the memories of mankind; and

no living witness or depository of it be left, to transmit its treasures to other and later peoples and ages, nor more than a few of its wrecks survive on the stream of time.

Art, science, and literature, are among the heritages of man, that have, in every age, irradiated some quarters of the earth, and shed their lustre upon some portions of the human family. Systems of philosophy, schools of art, science, and literature, alternately rise with the rise of nations and civilizations, and then decay and pass away with national decay and extinction. But their fundamental principles or truths, are immutable and indestructible; and although continually lost for a time, to some quarters of the earth, to some portions of mankind, are ever, to different degrees, and under varied modifications, revived, and reappear in some other quarters, to some other portions, to animate anew the intellectual conceptions of men, in other systems of philosophy or schools of art, science or literature, as the principles are either handed down from age to age, people to people, or are when lost, re-discovered by new peoples or civilizations, as renewed culture and attainment rise to their level, and are enabled to comprehend and recognize them. Thus art, science, and literature are continually expiring, and re-

viving, and oscillating through ever varying phases, forms, and degrees of advancement and of retrogression, as they pass from age to age, people to people. It is still the great law of action and reaction, the expenditure and the renewal of forces, the wound-up and the fallen weight, the coiled and the uncoiled spring of human activities, which are thus ever being spent and renewed and kept in exercise.

Whatever any period, nation, or civilization realizes in the higher and more intellectual departments of knowledge, exists, even under the best and most elevating social conditions in indirect relationships to the masses, relationships made up mostly of such materialized results of that knowledge as apply far more to the material of man's being than to the spiritual.

At every period, under every form of civilization, sound knowledge, founded on observation and rational deduction, has had to contend with false knowledge originating in popular tradition, superstition, prejudice, and ignorance. While at one extreme of the social scale, the great minds of an age may be engaged in inquiries that lead to the most profound, varied, and useful results of science, investigating the laws, movements, and conditions of the heavenly bodies,

penetrating into the abstruse secrets of nature, and tasking the highest resources of the mind, in enriching every department of art, science, and literature; at the other extreme, in the general mind of the mass, may be extensive classes, in mental conditions that expose them to all the varied delusions and errors of superstition and ignorance; which may even invade the sanctuaries of religion and of justice, as is attested by the history of religious, political, legal, and moral martyrdoms in every age, and by popular delusions and errors, without number, which continually arise from inherent principles and tendencies in the general mind of humanity; and come into action, then disappear to be again renewed in endless succession, under ever modified forms.

The errors that advancing knowledge and civilization dispel, are ever reluctantly yielded by the prejudice and ignorance which, in the masses, originate and cherish them. The exposure and explanation of popular errors, pertaining to, applying to, or involving principles of social existence and action, are generally listened to, as the utterances of folly, fanaticism, or depravity: the principles recommended in their stead are often regarded as opposed to the dearest interests of society, or to the most

solemn duties and obligations of life ; and their adoption is as apt to be characterized as the acts of viciousness or of stupidity, until they win their way to public conviction by the force with which they are urged upon the attention and appeal to the reason. But they win their way and maintain their position in the rational convictions of the popular mind, only so long as its intellectual conditions are equal to them.

As the presence of sound knowledge in the mind depends upon the ability of the mind to perceive and comprehend the true relations of the objects of thought, false knowledge or error will prevail there to the degree to which that ability is lost by lowering conditions. Thus the errors of the mind fill a wide space in its history, and are never failing elements in society, to the general interests of which, both truth and error are subservient, in being compensating means by which the mind reaches its just and proper conclusions. Were the perception of truth, uncombined with error, intuitive to the mind, antagonist opinions and conclusions, with the collusive reciprocating action of mind upon mind, which is now, the great incitement to research and effort, the great elicitor of truth, and the best exercise of the given faculties of the mind for that end, would in a great measure cease.

Both truth and error are transmitted from generation to generation, and equally depend upon the nature and conditions of the mind. True knowledge in the mind is more the fruit of effort; error assumes its place there, from that gravitating tendency of everything elevated and valuable, that is attained by effort, to sink from its position, when that effort ceases, as a falling weight sinks from the absence of an exerted power, equal to oppose the gravitating tendency it has to a lower level. Error and truth are antagonist forces in the mind; respectively weakened or strengthened by the respectively lowering or elevating conditions, circumstances, and influences to which the mind is subject, and which, in their full sum and action upon the mind, tend it less generally to elevating enquiries and efforts than to those materialized pursuits that minister to the requirements of its lower aspirations and conditions.

Of all the knowledge circulating among mankind, the individual mind has the capacity to receive and apply but a very small fraction. That which belongs to a high civilization, is, through all of its departments, fractioned out among the mass. In philosophy, science, art, and literature, men advance in their respective and peculiar departments, to degrees of knowl-

edge far above what their contemporaries in other walks reach. Each from his own sphere, sends abroad the knowledge that results from his efforts; all becomes fractioned out among the mass, as their respective wants prompt them to seek what is thus put into circulation. Comparatively few are reached by the elevating action of all that has been done in social advancement.

To the mass of a nation, perfectionment as regards its civilization lies in its present attainments. What is not gained, is neither known, foreseen nor anticipated; the present, forms the national standards of excellence; upon these, national vanity and egotism, build their claims to superiority. Few see their country's declension, however rapidly it may be going on; nor are there any human means to stay the ever-changing phases of national civilization and power, national poverty, ignorance, and decay. Each individual and each class, act in their respective spheres and to their respective ends, according to the present conditions and influences acting upon them. Reorganized principles, and the results of experience as regards national welfare, are neither known nor heeded unless by the few, and are powerless unless comprehended; nationally effective only to the

degree to which they are recognized by the mass, adapted to its condition, and by these means brought to influence it. Constitutions, however nicely defined their conditions, are guarantees of stability only so long as they harmonize with the conditions of the nation, and can only be regarded as a moderating influence that, at best, but stays in some degree, the changes that must occur in the direction and character of national action.

All the physical agencies, influences, and tendencies belonging to earth, and all of the physical and mental agencies inherent to the human constitution, all indeed that enters into the formation of human conditions, and determines or causes the ever-varying fluctuations and diversified states of mankind in national civilization, enlightenment, prosperity, power, happiness, increase, decrease, or amount of population, progress or retrogression; are interwoven, blended, and connected together, ever acting and reacting upon each other, and form one united system, simultaneously embracing the whole earth and all mankind in one grand scheme, in which the contemporary nations, peoples, tribes, and communities of the earth, through every age, are kept ever fluctuating in *all the conditions of relative superiority and*

inferiority to each other, and through the operation of causes that form one connected scheme, formed on a scale that stretches away, in complication, area, and period, and in multiplicity of causes and consequences, entirely beyond human estimate or reach. But man only considers and founds his theories and conclusions upon the limited and partial social phenomena, causes, and effects drawn from relatively limited areas of national life, and embraced by relatively small periods of time.

All the nations of the past that history has named, for the greatness of their population, power, refinement, and advancement, the career which they ran, reached the conditions by which they were distinguished, and then passed away to their destinies, in a great degree through the operation of conditions, causes, and consequences, that man but dimly perceives and but slightly influences; many that are hidden from his view and go beyond his reach.

Civilization is slowly but continually escaping from one portion of the human family to another. The arts, science, and literature, with all the means of perpetuating national civilization, are no guarantees against its declension. Certain mental and material conditions and circumstances in man's position are necessary

before these means can result to his advantage. In the midst of the most civilized nations, and surrounded by all that can enlighten them, are large masses of men in mental and physical conditions but a few removes from barbarism. Whole nations have sunk, and others will sink, from a high into a low condition, under depressing causes, which may produce poverty, ignorance, and abasement, with all their barbarized accompaniments. Stores of literature and science, every monument and work of art, may decay around a people, and produce no other effect upon the national mind than to help debase it by a sense of incapacity. The perishing architecture, literature, all the monuments of power, knowledge, and refinement, that belonged to the past, may only be regarded with an unavailing regret, or an ignorant admiration, by the posterity of those who produced them.

The American Indian lingers around the ruined memorials of his ancestors' greatness and power with a superstitious awe, as in the presence of works above his comprehension. The ancient empires of Mexico, Peru, and Central America, have perished, and the posterity of the races to whom they were due are sunk into barbarism. The populous and enlightened empires of Babylon and Nineveh live but in

name. Their wide plains, once so fertile and productive, crowded with cities, towns, and works of art, and teeming with population, are now barren and deserted; the mounds of their buried cities and monuments, and the ruins of their gigantic canals—all that now remains of their ancient grandeur—excite but a gaze of ignorant wonder, in the scanty and rude population that now occupies their sterile wastes. The ruins of Petra are now surrounded by the rocky solitudes of Edom, and the wondrous monuments of Egypt, of Balbec, Palmyra, and Persepolis, stand in the midst of lifeless deserts.

The history of every age is full of instances of national decay or extinction. The earth is strewn with localities too numerous to mention, which were once the fertile scenes of wealthy and populous empires, and which are now sterile and deserted, only rich in the wrecks of perished nations and civilizations, and in evidences of past national greatness and enlightenment, and many of them occupied by communities sunk into comparative poverty and ignorance, whose ancestors once animated and adorned the same scenes with a rich culture and all the conditions of a high civilization. Everywhere and in every age the character and

aspirations of the national mind, the efforts they prompt, and the results they lead to, depend upon the material and mental conditions that act upon the nation: to the degree to which these conditions are favorable or unfavorable, national bodies will improve or will decline, as surely as individual man.

CHAPTER X.

INDIVIDUAL, CLASS, PARTY, GOVERNMENTAL, AND NATIONAL INFLUENCES IN HUMAN AFFAIRS.

NOR is there a directing power in any individual or in any class, equal to turn the social movement in one direction or another. All that the greatest do or effect, cause comparatively trifling perturbations in its onward course to those ends and that destiny that results from the whole sum of acting influences. Conditions, adjustments, and laws, as uniform as those that govern the planetary movements, determine the consequences that follow every condition, however minute, in man's principles of action, desires, efforts, volitions, and acts; each of which, whether of good or of evil, through every degree and character, from one excess to the other, every movement of his moral, intellectual, physical nature is followed by its corresponding and necessary effect, however disguised or hidden, such effect, or its source, may

be, by the modifications it receives from other causes and influences.

Placed in certain relations to the conditions that surround him, he must observe certain recognized principles of action,—dictated by the experience and general sense of mankind, as among the necessary conditions of his well-being,—before this can be attained by him. His instinctive, intuitive, educated perception of these conditions, his whole nature, and every adjustment of his being, tend his desires and efforts in a true general direction, toward welfare and happiness. His desires and efforts to rise in the scale of these, are among the great principles of his being, and among the indispensable conditions of their attainment.

Nations, classes, individuals, rise or sink in the scale, according as their conditions, principles of action, desires and efforts, are elevated and elevating, or low and lowering; they are elevated and elevating, or low and lowering, from the operation of a sum of conditions, in which human reason is a comparatively small element, and in which the character and force of even this element in all of its diversities, are mainly determined by causes superior to itself.

Ordaigned conditions, causes and effects, means and ends, amid which human agency is made

up of reciprocities and antagonisms, very partial and limited in their sphere of action, aims and ends, are the determining elements of the social and national progress and direction ; and work out their general results in the national economy, according to laws inherent to the aggregate mass of the national body, which is animated and carried along by its passions, emotions, sentiments, desires, and instincts ; by its usages, laws, and institutions ; and by all the infinite conditions of its being ; realizing in its literature, art, science, its action, and its innumerable and varying experiences and results, the ordained purposes of its existence. The whole sum, of the moral, intellectual, the mental life of its aggregate mass, constitutes its mental being, its national mind, which, together with its material conditions and tendencies, reduces by the force of their united and aggregate sum of influence, the various mental and personal characteristics, the passions, emotions, sentiments, thought, action, and appearance, of the various individuals, and classes of individuals, composing the national body, into general harmony with the characteristics of that body, which is carried along to the fulfilment of its destiny, by the aggregate sum of the conditions that influence it.

Every member of the social and political body, and every class in it, with their varied characters and conditions, the good, bad, and indifferent, the wise and the foolish, in their infinite varieties, are but its different necessary elements, and make up in their aggregate the perfect national body. Each individual composing it, whoever or whatever he be, performs a part in its economy, predetermined mostly by his inherent character and tendencies, by the moulding influences of society upon him as he grows up, and by their modifying agency upon him through adult life. Each individual, from infancy to death, forms an integrant part in the social body, as the characters and tendencies of that body, and of the circumstances, conditions, and influences that have acted upon him have been, so will be the character and tendencies of his action upon society. Whatever class he belong to, however great his energies and influence, he can be said to affect the national movement, only in so much as he performs just the part in its economy that all of the influences to which he has been subjected have fitted or led him to perform ; and his agency, whatever it is conceded to be, receives its character, force and direction from, is but the result of influences *superior* to itself.

Even a Napoleon's share of his nation's greatness, resulted from those circumstances and conditions of his adopted country that led to civil and military glory, and moulded and adapted him to his place ; which would have been filled by some of the many in the mass, equally capable of carrying out that portion of the national exertion belonging to the station he occupied ; and in which, his greatness was the reflected greatness that surrounded him, in the peculiar and extraordinary circumstances and conditions of the nation ; out of the conditions of which, and of his period, he grew, with, and among, a host of other great and aspiring minds that equalled his own, and the spirit of which — as inevitable conditions in his position and career — surrounded, entered into, influenced and modified, his mind and all of his civil, political, and military determinations and results, which but expressed — so far as due to mental agency — the mean determinations of his own, and of all the minds by which he was surrounded, acted upon, and influenced, and amid which, the agency of his mind, was relatively a fraction.

Nature has made, to a certain degree, provision for the extraordinary contingencies of a high station, when above the natural abilities

of the one who fills it, in that law of mind, according to which, its powers are developed and increased, in some proportion to the developing and elevating forces of the conditions acting upon it; they make the man; he never reaches the pedestal of political greatness, until thousands think and feel and act, conjoinedly with him; not what he has taught or led them to think, feel or act; it is beyond man's individual power thus to act upon national masses. He is ever but one of their number, moulded by the same conditions, and his elevation depending upon the consonance of his views, aims, and sympathies with theirs, and with the national intuitions, tendencies, and wants.

The excitement that stirs up nations to great deeds, must first be felt in the bosoms of the mass, and the tide of enthusiasm and exertion will sweep on in resistless fulfilment of its objects and ends, and elevate as a matter of necessity, some one to the highest functions of the excited national body; but high as they may elevate him, his influence will be an infinitely small one, compared with the full sum of influences that carry alike, him and the nation of which he is a fraction, along to the fulfilment of their purposes and destinies.

Who that meditates on man's comparative

nothingness amidst all the vastness of visible creation, can award him the power sometimes attributed to him? Who can believe in the ability of an individual mind to shape by its influence the destinies of nations, or to control or to mould the complex elements, the swelling tide of human existence, that bears individual man along on its bosom as an atom, only endowed with certain powers, more or less limited, to act upon others that surround him, and to be acted upon? Human society, with its distinctive and ever-changing features, we may fancy made up of a mighty aggregation of reflecting and acting monads, each obeying social laws belonging to its individual being, and producing effects around itself proportioned to its force and applicability; then governed in their aggregate action by grander laws, more wide in their range and general in their influence upon the mass; working with a magnitude, depth, and secrecy that hide them from individual observation, and carry on all national changes, to destinies over which individual effort has but little control, comparatively, to the great sum of conditions, causes, and influences that enter into their determinations.

When, in large communities, the efforts and influence of one man effect great and perma-

nent changes, it is far less in reality than in seeming, the result of a mental force within himself; but rather that force due to the electriclike action with which kindred and sympathetic minds are kindled by an appeal for which they were prepared by their conditions, and which a small power sets in motion, stirring up the forces, mighty by number, which have been silently fermenting in the mental mass, and been there echoing from the depths of soul to soul, unproclaimed.

The missionary, whose teachings effect great social changes in extensive savage communities, is the connecting link of sympathy between the savage and the more enlightened masses, the exciting conductor and propagator of civilized action, to the natural powers of the savage mind; and acts but as an agent of enlightened masses of another part of the human family, speaking for nations and millions, and teaching the experiences and discoveries of the mind, accumulated through centuries of enlightenment and effort. And when a fanatic teacher draws the minds of thousands to some new doctrine of his own, they are minds kindred to his, mingled in the mass, and prepared by their mental peculiarities to yield to the contagion of new opinions. There are masses of men in

every age, under every social condition, even in the midst of the most enlightened communities, in mental conditions that render them accessible to the delusions of extravagant, irrational doctrines, which are embraced with avidity when in harmony with existing inclinations of the mind.

The exciter of a great social movement but touches the delicate spring of sympathetic feeling and action in the mass, and thus sets in motion some active principle that has lain hidden and germinating in its depths until matured and prepared to work out its ends; it commences its action in the minds wherein it is most matured and active, and thence spreads into general activity through the mass; or is started into activity by some truth elicited through the mental workings of other masses from which the teacher received his teachings.

No mind rises above the intellectual level of its period and sphere but by slow degrees, and can reach but a small height above where they have placed it. The smallest elevation above this standard is sufficient to distinguish it, and the fact may indicate the comparatively small influence of the greatest mind, relatively to the full sum of influences emanating from the mass upon which and amid which it acts, and which

gives to society its momentum and direction, unchecked and unswerved in its general movement by the ephemeral action of any individual mind.

If, as has been claimed, a man's thoughts are immortal in their influences for good or for evil, as they are good or as they are evil, it can only morally and socially be in the sense of their being the unchangeable though varied products of the pure, the good, and the elevating, or of the impure, the evil, and the lowering, emotions, sentiments, and principles of the general mind of humanity; the general unvarying character and constitution of which, as well as its incitements to good and to evil, its relations to surrounding minds and conditions, and the nature and the relative sum of good and of evil thoughts originating from it, are, within certain limits, unchangeable, these being in unceasing operation, under ever-modified forms, and in ever-varied degrees and proportions to each other, among different portions of the human family in different periods and in different sections of the earth and are ever drawn from the common fund, and uttered and renewed by individual minds that but typify the periods and the spheres they belong to, and but give out the *good* and the evil with which these have imbued

them. Even the uttered or the recorded thoughts of individuals, that kindle inspiration, are but scintillations from the common mind of humanity, from some portion of which even genius ever gathers its materials and gains its strength and form. The good and the evil, uttered by genius or by mediocrity, by cultivated or by uncultivated mind, are equally potent for good or for evil in their respectively congenial spheres. It is but the goodness and the wickedness of mankind, finding their utterances in various forms which each appeals with equal effect to the class of minds in consonance with itself; each form of utterance being symbolic of some particular class of minds and conditions of life, and most forcibly conveying to that class, by a species of lingual affinity, and mental free-masonry, the expressed good or evil.

A high authority has commented upon the writings of Hobbes and others, and "their ruinous influence upon millions," yet how infinitely small a portion of any social mass ever hear of particular works of literature, or are at all affected either directly or indirectly by them. The millions they never reach, and very few of those they do reach, do they at all affect or influence.

The speculative works of an individual mind, seldom change in the slightest degree, the character and determinations of the reader. The mind clings with partiality and tenacity, to even its errors. Its character and its determinations, its speculative opinions, and moral sentiments, gain generally early in life, a degree of fixidity the course of the man, a momentum and direction, not easily changed by even great causes, and but little affected by such passing influences as the reading of a speculative work, however ably written, when its contents are out of harmony with the habitual tendencies of the mind of the reader. Only in minds brought by their previous conditions and biases into sympathy and harmony with the matter perused, will its effects be lasting or important, or proportioned to its ability. Mental habits and biases, and that circle of circumstances that generally surrounds most individuals like an atmosphere of their own, and gives them a determined direction, continually tend the mind to react from the effects of uncongenial influences, to its prior position. The characters, determinations, speculative opinions, and moral sentiments of the mass of mankind, are thus, at an early age, fixed by the moulding processes of so many other influences, that the influence of a

particular writer, or teacher of new doctrines, has, unless in sympathy or harmony with them, but little, even modifying agency upon them.

The mental productions of a nation, with their general character and tendencies, may be regarded as the results and expressions of its prevailing mental conditions, and reacts upon these as but a single cause, among myriads of others. So intellectual advancement in the principles of science and art, which, unlike the great principles of morality, has no assignable bounds, and to which civilization mainly owes its onward march to indefinite limits of attainment, in all that enlightens and elevates mankind, is ever the reflex of the intellectual conditions of the period and the result of innumerable minds.

The revolutions which Bacon, Descartes, Davies, Newton, and other great minds, are considered to have individually effected in their various departments, and the influence of their individual works upon human progress, have been probably greatly overrated. To Bacon has probably been attributed an undue share in the introduction of the inductive process, in the pursuit of knowledge, and in the consequently rapid advance of the arts and sciences since his period; when, in truth, he but urged by his

example and writings, its more general application to the pursuit of useful inquiries and investigations ; his mind in the direction it took was but one of the most foremost among the minds of his day, from which indeed, it received its form and direction.

The inductive process is one of the most natural and common functions of the mind, even in the rudest stages of intellectual investigation, and has been used in every age, intuitively and independent of any teachings, as has also the deductive method, which is equally essential to human progress, having reached equally valuable and brilliant results in science and art, in some departments of which, it is, with the imagination, the great pioneer of human progress. The same discoveries and inventions, the same progress in knowledge would probably have been made, had Bacon never existed. Most of them have been reached without any reference to him, or to the principles he is by some, assumed to have introduced. A Harvey would still have discovered the circulation of the blood ; a Watt, the steam engine ; a Morse, the electro-telegraph. They have all reached the great results that respectively distinguish their efforts, as every discoverer of great results *reaches* them, by eliciting from the works of

others, a new fraction of knowledge to add to the general mass from which they draw. In the respective departments of knowledge in which they have distinguished themselves, others had labored before, and contemporaneously, and reached nearly up to the same point of attainment, and within a step of the same results.

All that the wisest can say or do more than others have said or done before, is to say and do what the wisest have already said and done, and add to it a little of what is their own. Of all the knowledge the greatest mind attains to, an infinitely small proportion only is of its own discovery. An infinitely small fraction of its own, added to all it possesses of others, is the highest end it can reach, and the highest means man can command to distinguish himself by. View closely the most important far-reaching trains of events, marked out by particular histories, or by the popular assent of particular localities, as having originated in the powers, efforts, and influences of certain individuals or classes, and they may all be traced more truly to a sum of other concurring causes and influences still greater, to the coöperating powers, efforts, and influences of other individuals or classes that labored in the same work to the same end.

The world with its innumerable thinkers actors and influences, has ever its share in producing and shaping the elements and agencies of every event of the kind, appropriates them as they arise, and assimilates them all, even the greatest, to its own nature and conditions, and is but feebly affected by the assimilating reaction, so relatively small, of any one of them ; the reaction being at the same time, in its character, and in the direction of its influences, rather due to, in agreement with, a continuance of the character and the influences of the causes out of which the event grew. Thus the reformation, so generally regarded as having originated in the powers and efforts of an individual mind, and as having been the principal cause of the enlightenment that went along with and that followed it, was more truly the offspring of the aggregate minds and conditions of the period ; an effect of the advancing enlightenment that gave it its birth and success and its stimulating reaction upon freedom of inquiry and knowledge. Had Luther never existed, it, with all its consequences would still have taken place. He was but a co-laborer among millions, animated with the same views and feelings, aiming at the same ends.

The creed of Mahomet grew out of feelings,

opinions, aspirations, and conditions, in his own mind and character, in sympathy with the feelings, opinions, aspirations, and conditions of the minds of his countrymen. The character of his mind, and the religious direction it took, the character of the minds around him, and the religious direction they took, were determined mainly by the conditions of the age, and of the society to which they belonged, and which formed them. His creed owed its propagating power to the enthusiasm and aid of innumerable minds kindred to his own, and to the many conditions of his period and country, that harmonized with it, originated it, went along with it, and favored its development and progress. Had Mahomet never existed, the same spirit and character of religion, the same mode of civilization, would have prevailed among the masses now under the sway of his doctrines.

Confucius was but one among the moralists of his period and nation ; but one among the compilers of his country's wisdom ; and the power and the influence of his lessons were mainly due to the coöperation of many kindred minds, to their happy adaptation to existing conditions, and to those circumstances of his period and country and countrymen, that nourished and fructified and perpetuated them. Had

Confucius never existed, the same axioms, principles, maxims, and precepts of his country, which he gathered and compiled, would still have formed the codes, influenced and toned the characters, of the millions they now do. They were the products of the mind of the nation, and perhaps of nations more ancient, the lessons of a past experience and wisdom, which he but collected, expounded, and enforced.

Luther's efforts, Mahomet's creed, Confucius's code, but grew out of, harmonized with, went along with the conditions, the mental workings and tendencies, of their respective periods and countries; so is it with all great names, and the great events with which they are associated. And the immortal names of genius, from Pythagoras to Aristotle, from Euclid to Newton, from Davies to Morse, only stand out in fuller relief, among the countless crowd of others who opened the way, or aided in reaching the results, that conferred undying fame upon the few.

To the astronomical data and elements that have reached us from preceding ages, ours is in no small measure indebted, for the discovery of the laws and movements of the heavenly bodies. Many of the elements and facts that constitute *our present* system of astronomy, were more or

less distinctly understood and announced, long before, many of them ages before, they were explained and demonstrated by those whose names are now immortalized by their discovery. They have come down the stream of time, in the shape of wrecks and fragments from antiquity, and from many directions, and from many minds. They have come down from modern sources in hints and suggestions, and half-formed discoveries and abortive attempts, and in truthful deductions, and in the results of earnest and persevering inquiry; all flowing in upon, and accumulating around the intellects of the age, in a tide of so complicated an origin, and of such fruitful results, as to truly leave to the great minds and names that symbolize the science, but the merit of being only more prominent in the work of progress than their fellow laborers.

The germs of astronomy, first descending from antiquity, then engaging the minds of the learned of modern Europe, were developed into fruitful results, through gradual and successive stages of advancement. A knowledge of the attractive and centrifugal forces of the heavenly bodies can be traced far back into antiquity, in the writings of ancient authors, and in the opinions and assertions attributed by these authors, to writers, and to a people still

more ancient. They were asserted in forms, more or less clearly expressed, by Alexandrian philosophers, 600 B. C., by Pythagoras and Anaxagoras, 500 B. C.; by Aristarchus, 280 B. C.; by Plutarch 140 A. C.; Pythagoras, and Aristarchus, also teaching the twofold motions of the earth on its axis, and around the sun; also the modern system of the Universe; Pythagoras ascribing eclipses to shadows, and arranging the planets as in the Copernican system, and Aristarchus leaving treatises on the sun and moon.

The ancient systems of the Universe were known in Europe after the revival of science, and aided Copernicus in the construction of his system, which some of them resembled. The law of Kepler, which asserts the attractive force between the sun and the planets to be inversely as the squares of their distances, was implied in the explanations given by Borelli in the motions of Jupiter and his Satellites. Horrox asserted the elliptical form of orbit, and the revolutions of its apsides due to the compensating forces of the revolving bodies, and through his knowledge of the planetary movements and their orbital elements, calculated the transit of Venus, which occurred about the period of Newton's birth. Hooke, Huygens,

Halley, and Wren, were all busied simultaneously with Newton, in the great questions and investigations relating to the laws of gravitation and to the movements of the heavenly bodies, which led him to his immortal fame.

Nearly every individual that has realized and announced a great fact in astronomy, has reached it, by adding to the series of gradual and successive approaches, processes, and suggestions made by other individuals, only the last and completing steps in the series that conducted to the great fact and to the goal of honor. But few of the great discoverers in the science of astronomy, but have had to defend their claims to the honor of originality, or priority of discovery, against a crowd of other claimants to the honor, or a share of it. Newton has been charged by Hooke with having appropriated his system. He has also been charged with having made the theory of Horrox, the foundation of all his astronomy; and Pecard's measurement of the earth's diameter, by correcting his value of the earth's radius, enabled Newton to realize his great results; his genius contributed a new fraction to the elements, data, and results which the past and the present had furnished his period; he deduced from them new and advanced conclusions; and succeeded in reaching,

before his competitors, the point, at which many of his predecessors and contemporaries had aimed, labored for, closely approached, or vaguely reached, and thus his genius and name became a symbol of astronomical progress.

Although individual power and influence, even in their highest manifestations, are ever but fractional elements amid the aggregate sum of surrounding powers and influences, there is not the less of a reality in the distinctive differences that exist between different individuals as regards their power of exercising an influence and producing effects around them, for the good or for the evil, the advancement or the retrogression of their fellow men. Each individual is, from his constitution and conditions, the centre of a certain inherent sum of force, upon the cultivation and well-proportioned and distributed expenditure of which, in physical, mental, vital, specialized activities, will depend the healthful equilibrium of his different functions, and according to the degree, direction, and order of development it receives, and to the number and character of the specializations that may be given to his different faculties and capabilities, will be the amount, diversity, character, and order of the results he reaches, the *effects* he produces, the influence he exercises.

All aggregations or bodies of mankind, associated together for special or general purposes, or ends, or aims, either social or national, in business, amusement, art, science, literature, politics, or religion, are made up of individuals of different degrees and forms of ability, of means, force, and influence, of whom a certain limited proportion and number win, with the common assent of their associates, different degrees of ascendancy, proportioned, as a general rule, to their respective relative sums of mental and material power, of effort, and influencing means.

The relative proportions of men possessing different degrees and modes of natural endowment, adapted to the different wants and functions of society, are determined by laws as fixed and sure in their operation as the laws of gravitation, and are, within certain limits, unchangeable. Great men are a result of the conditions of a country. Where these are favorable to their production, a certain proportion, among the class of minds susceptible of high attainment, meet, amid the conditions of their country and age, a concurrence of such influences as are favorable to the development of the higher faculties, and of special tendencies. The higher the general mind of a community,

and the higher its mental requirements, the more elevating will be its action upon individual mind, and the more elevated will be individual attainment, and the greater the disparity between individual and individual minds. Great minds, in the constitution of society, like the higher faculties in the mental constitution of the individual, are but the small and dependent parts of a great whole. Without the higher faculties, individual minds could not reach to elevated attainments ; without great minds, society could not rise to its higher conditions. Thus in every national mass, there exists a general proportional amount of the superiorly endowed, an essential element in the conditions of its advancement.

But as regards the intrinsic value and amount of what any man of great name and fame has individually effected, and his individual influence upon human progress, — great as may be the differences between the means and the effects of one man and another, — the attributed sum of the individual powers and influences, of every man thus distinguished, much exceeds, in certain localities, and among certain portions of his fellow men, the intrinsic or true one, when viewed in connection and relationship with the sum of the varied powers and influ-

ences of co-laborers of every grade, from the distinguished to the obscure, in the same work, and from whose dues, is generally drawn, some portion of the sum, attributed to the most distinguished.

The admiration and award locally bestowed upon even the greatest, can be viewed as intrinsically due, only as his respective means and effects are considered relatively to what is the general recognized average of individual means and effects of all men less distinguished. Upon this recognized difference between the means and effects of one man and the mean average of all men below him, is the award of the world, the admiration, eulogy, high social place, and estimation of services rendered, given; and the distinguished, made to symbolize by their individual names, not only the events in which they have respectively played a part, but the whole sum, of means, of talent, or of genius, that has aided in producing those events. What each intrinsically is, and what each intrinsically effects, are always overrated, where their respective influences are most felt, and where their respective names become symbolic.

Not only are the effects and influences of any individual, but also those of any class, comparatively trifling ones, in carrying on the social

movement, and giving it direction. The most influential are but parts of the social body, performing in it, certain functions, the character and changes of which are determined by the tendencies of that body, to the force of which the influence of any particular individual, or class, is like a feather on the stream.

The cultivated, benevolent and philanthropic, who devise means, form plans of amelioration, enlightenment, and happiness for the classes socially beneath them, though deserving a high place among the ordained agents in the work of human improvement, fill but a small department in the wide system of human agency to that end, and have been formed by, and but answer to, the tendencies and influences of the communities to which they belong. An instinctive impulse to raise their little being in the social scale — and without which all the other elevating principles in the constitution combined, could not carry mankind on in a course of improvement, or save them from sinking into a state of degradation — leaves no one idle in the great work of social progress, in which the views, aims and efforts of the high and the low differ but little in dignity or in importance, as regards their elevating action upon the mass.

Though the enlightened and affluent may smile with pity or with disdain upon the humbler ambitions and efforts of the world below them, it is there the mass works, there human improvement or abasement commences, from there works upward; there the great social action goes on, and there its greatest results to the widest consequences upon society as a whole are effected, as they are effected in higher spheres of life, being worked out, and shaped into unsought consequences — so far as dependent upon human agency — by the aggregate sum of that action that goes on in individual spheres, with partial means and aims, to partial ends, and which constitute man's agency in the fluctuations of communities and nations; he being infinitely unable to comprehend the boundless and complex system of conditions, and of present and remote consequences, by which the fluctuations and destinies of communities and nations are influenced and determined.

In the small sphere that surrounds self, his individual means, efforts, aims, ends, and results, mainly centre, and reach beyond himself, according to their origin, energy and direction, to family connections, friends, to the community, the nation, the world. Thus his selfish sentiments

and instincts, connected as he is by so many relations of interest with his fellow man, play a wide part in the welfare or in the misfortunes of others, and even blend themselves with those kindly affections and sympathies of his nature that have a more special reference to the good and the happiness of his fellow men ; and which are inherent principles that never entirely expire, in even the most depraved mind, but flow out in some degree, from even the foulest bosom, upon at least, kindred and congenial natures ; while from purer sources, in their more elevated forms, they give to society the innumerable benefactors and institutions that, in numberless modes and degrees, benefit, enlighten, and elevate mankind, and minister to the wants and the happiness of the unfortunate. His most generous and disinterested impulses and acts are, however, generally the satisfaction of some principle of his nature, that instinctively seeks its own gratification ; all of his faculties being more especially adjusted to the comprehension and attainment of his own good than of the good of others ; and the closest requirements of self-interest, clearly comprehended and wisely pursued, are in entire harmony with the best interests of society.

His individual efforts to rise in the scale of

welfare and social standing, are the little moral forces, resistless in number, that elevate and sustain society. In all stations of life, he is incited to those efforts, in degrees, and with a sacrifice of other promptings, proportioned to his respective characteristics, conditions, views of life, and ideas of happiness. However humble and limited be the distinctions that he seeks, or that his utmost exertions win, he adds to the elevation of the community of which he is an integrant, in so much as he is elevated by his exertions and conditions, or he aids in lowering it, in so much as he is lowered by his acts and conditions, and is ever exercising influences either good, bad, or neutral, upon it and upon the individuals and classes that form it, and is ever receiving return influences from them.

In each class, there prevails a peculiar, and in some degree, an unreasoned estimate, which, in the aggregate, attaches a certain value, gives a certain influence to all of the distinctions that prevail in the world, however strongly some of them may be decried by certain tastes or classes or however much they may tend to run into abuse, or be converted into themes of derision. Even the smallest may be viewed as awards to qualities intrinsically valuable, in proportion,

as a general rule, to the mean amount of favorable impression they produce in the world. Everything that society regards as an advantage, whether natural or artificial, however small, family, rank, wealth, beauty, let moralists reason as they may, will still produce upon the mind, and in the social economy, certain unvarying effects.

In every condition of society, the high and the low, in character, conditions, conduct and standing, call into play the same universal feelings, and determine men's estimation of each other, which is an universally habitual, and often unconscious, employment of mind, from the aggregate results of which, only, each individual receives his true mean valuation; the particular estimate, that upon which men found their preferences and their friendships, and unite together for good or for evil, being generally partial and imperfect, or founded in a great degree on the impressions of the moment, beyond which, few take the trouble or have the opportunity or the capacity to seek.

The world's estimation, the source from which men's love of superiority draws its chief gratification, the prize for which it mainly labors, in the great part it performs in the social economy, is just only in its mean aggregate valua-

tion, made up of individual estimates, determined less by reason than by the joint and conflicting action of many unreasoning powers of the mind; and as applied to individuals, is determined by the joint and conflicting action of two classes of feelings, at work in society, both classes ranging from a state of indifference, through infinite gradations; the one to the most favorable, the other to the most unfavorable sentiments and impressions that man can be the object of, from his fellow man; and both preserving their respective characteristics, through every social phase and grade, and together determining men's social standing; the diversities of which, are as unsusceptible of being levelled, or controlled, by man, as are the diversities of his mental and physical ability. They are all equally due to the inscrutable workings of the social, mental, and physical economies; his deepest glance into which, shows him but the surface, the last series in a train of sequences, that have come in one ever-changing succession through ages.

The varied influences of different spheres of life, upon human virtue, usefulness, advancement, and happiness, are adjusted, interwoven, and balanced into one harmonious system, and are so complicated and expanded, beyond man's

ability to grasp or to discriminate, as to render his different and conflicting estimates of their relative values in the social economy, entirely dependent upon the position and conditions of the observer, the mean value of the whole of those estimates being the only true one.

In every class of society, the principles of mind that govern human action, are the same. In each, they are subject to be modified and varied in their combinations and relative proportions, and to be strengthened or weakened, by the respective conditions of the different classes and of the different periods of life. Throughout all classes, there prevails an equal proportional amount of worthlessness and of usefulness. All are equally favorable to the principle of social advancement. The humbler classes who constitute the far largest proportion of every community, furnish to society, and constitute its great laboring masses, and producers of the material results of human activities, and also yield, under favoring conditions, the far greatest number of laborers to the works of art, science, philanthropy, the works of human progression, advancement and liberty, and each class has equally its periods, when the social conditions of the community it aids to form, gives it a preponderance over the others,

in morality, happiness, activity, usefulness and socially advancing influences. The criminal, the depraved and the worthless, the pauper and the destitute of society, cannot be included among its component classes; they being in reality, its abnormal, diseased products.

The ambitious aims and efforts of each class receive their characters and directions from the conditions that respectively act upon it, and in their aggregate sum, work out the ends of human ambitions, aims and efforts in the social economy. In every class, they are equally inspiring; those of the poor man, as much so to him, as are those of the middle or of the higher classes to them, and marked by the same average proportions of what is commendable, indifferent or unworthy. In each class of life, there are equally open to man's ambitions and aims, advantages that rise above his own sphere, as well as those that belong to it, to incite him to effort, and to call out his energies, the aims of one class at welfare and happiness, being as closely confined to the requirements of virtue, as those of the other; the one having as equal a chance of being pious moral and useful, as the other, and each contributes an equal proportion of such as recruit the ranks of villainy, violate the laws, or disre-

gard the requirements of justice, morality and religion.

Every class yields its proportional average amount of frailty, vice, and crime. Every pursuit and profession, even the most elevating, has, in some of the influences peculiar to it, that which biases more or less unfavorably the character, and acts more or less unfavorably upon society. Different stations and pursuits but modify the results of human imperfection and infirmity. In every station, immoral and vicious indulgences are equally accessible; temptations equally pressing; the power of moral resistance equally feeble. Throughout, if mankind indulged in the vicious pleasures, or the vices, that were accessible to them, or inviting them by offered opportunities, all would be vicious, for all have the opportunities of being so, and if disposed, could find in any station of life, opportunities of indulgence, enough to run riot in immorality and any degree of vicious excess. But in every station, there are equally innumerable circumstances and conditions favorable to virtue, and others the reverse, that twine a moral mesh and net-work of influences around men's volitions, and either throw them into the ways and habits of vice, *keep* them from its contact, or restrain them.

The principle of compensation runs through all the grades of society. Every different station and occupation has nearly the same proportional amount of good and bad influences, growing out of its conditions, reacting upon these, and levelling in a great degree, the average amount of moral worth, happiness, and usefulness belonging respectively to them, and each furnishes, to the world about an equal proportional amount and quota of the virtuous and the vicious. It would probably be a nice matter of casuistry to determine, whether there be more vice elicited among the middle classes, through the ambition and endeavor to become wealthy or distinguished, than among the high in life, through the indulgences growing out of wealth and distinction already gained, or among the lowly through the promptings of more humble ambitions and wants, and of energies, tempered by the sense of dependence and inability, belonging to poverty or to ignorance.

In every class the incitements that lead to personal effort, improvement, and good doing, are equally great ; ambition, superfluous wants, and energies to be expended, are common to all classes ; in all they are among the chief prompters to every effort ; in all man instinctively struggles to obtain all he can of what the

world has to give, and it is in overcoming the obstacles that bar him from these, that he gains his greatest strength, as it is through such efforts grown into a habit, that he becomes great. It may be his ambitions, his necessities, or his overcharged energies that incite him to effort; but practically, all are necessities that a man feels to be such, whether it be to evade starvation, or to reach some desired end to which he is impelled.

Each station in life has its standards of respectability; in each, man makes an equal exertion to rise above his present level, or to avoid sinking below what he considers to be his true one. In each, he exhibits the same principles of action in the effort, which, though they fail to yield him a happiness proportioned to the social elevation he attains, have not been placed in his constitution to delude him, he still struggles for, and obtains, a reality, in that amount of happiness — be it more or less — that he realizes from the conditions he reaches, whatever that be, and whatever his efforts do realize to him, it is still through such efforts that mankind are elevated, or are sustained from sinking back into barbarism.

Human desires remain equally unsatisfied by

the conditions of every grade of life; whether in the middle, with its ample share of life's enjoyments and immunities; its still unsated appetite of greedy self-appropriation, its still unsatisfied struggles for more, and with all its advantages still unequal to its desires and aims; whether in the high from the possession of a wealth, rank, or condition, equally as far from satisfying the desires and aims of the mind; or whether in the low, with its more limited means and aims, and ambitions that bring fewer pangs to the mind, fewer wearing cares to disturb its contentedness, with a moderate supply of life's necessities and advantages.

Society, from the lowest to the highest, is in reality made up with so insensible a gradation of wealth, station, and intelligence as to form one continuous social chain, in which the limits that separate the middle from the high and the low, are broad and indefinite, and the links of which are all equally the necessary elements of the social existence, and the necessary consequences of its conditions.

Man in all stations, with the respective aims and efforts that grow out of them, is subject to an equal share of the delusions of life; in all the goods of life are scrambled for with equal

avidity, with an equal disregard for the general welfare; in all, the principle of self-appropriation is the grand motive to action, too strong to be overcome by benevolence, or any other principle in the mass, and so useful an incentive to exertion, it cannot be weakened without injury to human attainment.

Those who win the prizes of exertion, men of wealth and leisure, equally with those engaged in the various business pursuits of life, are necessary agents in advancing the general interests of society, and equally labor in their various modes, and through their varied means, to this end; their action and influence being equally determined by views, sentiments, and interests that have their centre, their starting-point in self, and may equally be adverse, or be favorable to the general welfare, and equally open to them are the paths of duty, and the means of good-doing to the world around them, and for their own self-improvement and elevation of character, or the reverse. To their cultivation, taste, and wealth are directly and indirectly due, much of the progress made in all that elevates and adorns society.

To this end, the man of leisure who cultivates his mind, and elevates his character, even without any direct and systematized endeavor to do

good to the world around him, contributes more and confers upon society greater benefits than does one, whatever his business, activity and sphere, who pursues, as thousands do, heedless of the general welfare, his private business interests alone; unmindful of his self-improvement in what enlightens and elevates. The class of minds and characters that rise above interested or selfish motives to different degrees and species of self-sacrifice and effort, in the cause of human well-being and advancement, though an ordained element, ever present and working out its beneficent ends, is a relatively small one; its amount, however, being probably adjusted, as a general rule, to the best and widest interests of society and mankind.

All the business occupations and pursuits of life, from the highest to the lowest, far from being, as a general rule, animated by the promptings of an elevated aim and the desire of being useful, are more truly the legitimate spheres and occasions ordained for the exercise and gratification of the given faculties and powers of the body and the mind, and but the inevitable results of the constitution, wants, and necessities of individuals, of society, of mankind; and with the great proportion of men, are but the competing struggles, to win the

means of subsistence, wealth, station, honor, &c. The share of recompense, of esteem, of respect, honor, or fame, which may be commanded from the world, and all of the restraining influences of religion, morality, education, interest and society, but preserve this struggle from becoming, with the great mass of men, a purely selfish one, lowering to the character, and in conflict with the interests and happiness of others. It is only through Heaven's order in the adjustments, operations, and results of the motives that dictate, the passions, desires, and necessities that animate, and the action that carries on this struggle, that it works out its beneficent ends for the general good of society.

To man's struggles for the enjoyments, honors, wealth, power, or whatever else the world has to bestow, or life has to yield, are due that accumulation and concentration of wealth, power, means, from which arise all the noblest monuments of human effort that adorn the earth, in its institutions, arts, sciences, literature; from the ruined fragments of past ages, to those still fresh from the plastic power that formed them; and to those struggles, are also due the individual action, which, in its united and aggregate workings, carries on man's general and national *destinies*, to consequences too mighty, compli-

cated, and distant for his wisdom, penetration or foresight to reach or aim at. Whatever his individual and collective agency in human affairs may be conceded to be, — receives its character and direction from, is but the result of conditions and influences, superior to itself.

Of the special influences of particular classes, lay or clerical, in determining the character and direction of society, it may be said, all of the different classes, from the highest to the lowest, with their respective characteristics and functions, their intellectual, moral, political, and religious conditions and influences, are the necessary product and growth of the community to which, with its varied and ever varying conditions, they respectively owe their existence, their every hue, and change, and influencing characteristics; enlightened or ignorant, pure or corrupt in the mass, to the degree to which the community they form, and which formed them, is so by its conditions and degree of civilization; the enlightenment or the ignorance, the purity or the corruption, being modified in character and degree, by the respective conditions and grades of the different classes.

Each class, and the community made up of all other classes, act reciprocally, in their mental, their intellectual, and moral influences upon

each other, in ratios proportioned to the sums of piety, intelligence, intellectuality — the mental forces — contained in their respective masses. Each class, being formed of individuals, belonging to some particular stratum of the community, intellectually its equal. The members of each class grow up to manhood, receive their biases, knowledge, tastes, and sentiments, their moral and religious characteristics, chiefly in the domestic circle, and thus prepared, launch into their respective adult spheres and vocations. The mental action of each intellectual class, is met by the mental action of every other cultivated class, and also by the aggregate sum of mental action, of just moral sentiment, piety, and healthy judgment, belonging to the less cultivated portion of the community who surround them, and who comprehend as truly, and practise as closely, the sterling virtues of life. The elevating influences of every class and institution are called into being and sustained through the internal promptings of the creating, sustaining, modifying energies at work in the minds of the great national mass; and not by the efforts of any particular class. The character and influences of every class are what society, with its moulding influences, makes them.

From the aggregate action of all, results the

movement and direction given to the national body by human agency. It moves on its track to the fulfilment of its destiny, by a mighty force, of which human wisdom and action are elements, and over which human wisdom has but little control.

So great is the system that embraces all the elements, all the causes and effects that constitute a nation's being, and determine its progress and direction, of their whence and their whither, their very existence; the most discerning catch but partial and fugitive glimpses, nor often suspect their complexity. While infinite in number, secrecy, and power, their Protean forms and workings are in a state of ceaseless mutation, and no mind can embrace, or take them in at one view, nor catch their fleeting, changing forms and hues; and impotent is human wisdom in swerving the sure destiny their concurring movements give to a nation's whither.

Even those inscrutable adjustments in the laws of population that determine the co-existing, and, within certain limits, the fixed proportional numbers of the various ages that compose society, as also the proportions of births to deaths, of males to females, &c., are elements in the conditions of nations, that may, by the changes they occasion in those proportions

produce consequences upon society, infinitely greater in determining its destiny, than the full sum of cöoperating reason, foresight, wisdom and effort to that end could accomplish. Moral, social, and political causes, due to the action of different races, nations and civilizations upon each other, in all their varied relations; those due to emigration, to the admixture of races, and to the oscillations and alternations that take place in the occupancy and in the abandonment of different quarters of the earth by civilized society, and by different races, and grades of enlightenment, are ever active causes in the scheme of human life; as they also are in the material economy of the earth.

Innumerable physical causes,—size, form, position, character, and surface-level of continents; directions and elevations of mountain ranges, character and variety of soil, of animal, vegetable, and mineral products; amount, distribution, and quality of water; all that constitutes climate; all pertaining to the physical character, properties, and forces of the earth's surface, crust, and atmosphere, and even of the space that surrounds her, with also her geological conditions and changes; form another sum of influences, in the determinations of the mental and material developments of mankind,

compared to which, the agency of human reason, forms an infinitely small sum. While numerous and diversified causes and conditions, entirely hidden and unappreciable from their remoteness or their subtlety, add their influences, and by their silent agencies aid in giving direction to the activities, in shaping the social and material characteristics, and in determining the prosperity, wealth, and power of a people. Even the silent current of change that works out its ends in lengthy periods of time, even time itself, with etherial, infinitely small, slowly acting influences, is ever operating upon human condition. Many of the physical, moral, social and political conditions of a present period, are due to trains of causes that commenced their action in ages that are past, and give rise to consequences whose influences will extend into the remote future. Thus a wide and complicated series of causes and effects, that elude observation and go beyond its reach, are ever at work modifying the results of understood, of assumed or of estimated causes, and interfere with, or triumph over, all man's efforts, aims, and expectations.

Every action and aim that has reference to human welfare, is founded upon its assumed or intended utility to the individual, the community,

the nation; or to mankind, according as the views, motives, and aims upon which it may be based, extend beyond, or centre in self; and every action and aim, is followed by its destined results. But the wider and more remote results of human motives, principles, actions, and aims, in their broad and ultimate workings to utility and welfare, are determined by causes far more unerring than man's individual opinions of the right and the wrong, the utility or the benefits of what he does; and arise from the conflicting workings of the multitudinous motives, views and mental antagonisms, sympathies and adjustments which decide men's actions, producing a comprehensive, far-spreading series of results entirely unreachd by his reason.

Thus the legislation that seemingly guards and advances with so wide a grasp, and so complicated an action, the interests of industry, with its complex and ramified scheme, is not the result of abstract reasoning on national welfare, or of deduced, well-elaborated principles of political economy, or speculative expositions of public good. But it is rather the result of the conflicting antagonisms and solicitations, of watchful, quick-sighted individual and class interests, the integral influences of which, however enlightened or the reverse, rule national

legislation on the subject, and result in a mean aggregate effect upon national industry, entirely beyond the reach of individual or legislative aims or control ; all that either does in aid of the general result, being but an item in the general sum of influences that brought it about.

And thus the influence of governing individuals, whatever their talents, or their defects ; or the influence of political parties, whatever their powers, or their errors ; produce comparatively trifling checks, or accelerations, in the momentum, trifling retrogressions or changes in the direction of the national movement ; mere perturbations in the steady tendencies of that mighty sum of influences by which a nation is carried on in a certain direction and to a certain destiny ; and of which the character, direction, and influence of statesmen and parties, are more truly results, and but represent the character and direction of the forces, the conditions sentiments, passions, interests and impulses of the national masses, whose momentum and direction they must obey, or yield their places to those who will.

The aggregate and conflicting tendencies of the national mind and action, result in a mean tendency in a certain direction, upon the national movement, then the whole sum of all the varied

and diverse, the retrograding and the advancing external influences and tendencies, result in another certain mean tendency upon it; and the final sum total of all the influences and tendencies, internal and external, acting upon it, result in giving it one mean general direction, either elevating or depressing.

The social and political action of the different classes of society upon each other, is an antagonism, from which there results, to the class or classes possessing most force, a supremacy in the controlling, directing, governing agency, and with this, an inevitable tendency to the partial biases and action that belong to predominating class interests. Each class, even that of the slave, takes its place, realizes its conditions, as the necessary result of a sum of causes, only so far controlled by human reason or sentiment, as the influence of these are exercised through the antagonisms of opposed opinions, interests and action.

The opinions, sentiments, interests, passions, arguments, aims and efforts, that oppose, and those that foster the institution of even slavery in a community are both, the necessary consequences of the social, political, physical, material, and industrial conditions, out of which they both grow, as compensating antagonisms, or

forces, which work out, through the mean results of their united action, so far as dependent upon human agency, the social and political conditions and relations of a subjected race; and which, in a community or nation possessing enlightened views of human rights, and of man's responsibilities and relations to his fellow man; must, from the very nature of the mind, inevitably arise from the presence and continue with the continuance of slavery in its organization; and they will arise and conflict with an energy proportioned to the degree to which this slavery violates those views, while their characters, tendencies and results will depend upon the conditions from which they arise, and by which they are accompanied, and amid which they are but elements.

The destiny of slavery is in reality worked out through the operation of a complication, diversity, and sum of causes and results, conditions, adjustments and influences which form a scheme that stretches away in its conditions, causes and results, entirely beyond human estimation or reach, and in which man, with all his aroused sentiments, passions, interests and efforts in the cause, is but the passive agent of a higher power, under the control of which, is carried on the destiny of the enslaved race, to

ends the best adapted to the general welfare of both the subjected and the dominant. The subjection of one race to another, under their different actual degrees of development and advancement in all that constitutes human elevation is a relation that grows out of their relative or different conditions of superiority or inferiority, as a necessary and an ordained result, having for its end, either the elevation of the subjected, through their contact with the higher civilization of the dominant or the bestowal of their services, as the services of an inferior people, to the guidance of an intelligence higher than their own; and in either case, for the greatest advancement of the general interests of both races.

Whether the different degrees of intellectual capability, manifested in the mental and material means possessed by different races or masses of mankind, be due to original formation or to accidental causes, changes not the reality of those differences, nor the reality of their immediate results, among which, are the fitness or the adaptedness of the subjected inferior people, for dependency upon the superior, and their improvement and elevation, arising out of the relations they hold toward each other, and which are frequently the only relations under

which the inferior could have been brought into close contact with an elevating civilization. The more remote results of these relations, must mainly depend upon the capabilities of the subjected people for improvement. But improvement in the intellectual conditions, the social and political status, standards, relations, and qualifications of a people long subjected to the lowering influences of servitude, their preparation for admission as freedmen and as safe elements into the body politic of an enlightened dominant people, their assimilation to these, as well as their capabilities of self-support and preservation, must, even under the most favoring circumstances, be the slow work of time and of innumerable favoring conditions.

Legislation, discussion, and agitation on the subject, as they are only a single condition among the innumerable conditions by which slavery is influenced, so are they shaped by the general tendencies and characteristics of those conditions; and according to their degree of accordance with these, will they aid in accelerating the advancement of the subjected, which is, however, sure to be more or less rapidly attained, from contact with an enlightened and elevating civilization; in which human rights are open to investigation, and in which enlight-

enment throughout all of its degrees, is the equivalent of corresponding degrees of power, as both together are the equivalents of corresponding degrees of freedom, which no power can long stay a collective people from realizing, approximately to the degree, and as an inevitable result of their enlightenment.

In view of the degradation, mental and physical, of portions of the most highly developed Caucasian races, as represented by the serfs of some sections of Europe and Asia, and by portions of the degraded classes of the most highly civilized nations, with the consequently demonstrated susceptibility of the white races to the lowest possible degrees of abasement, the most benevolent and probably the most true and just view of the lowly conditioned races, would be to regard them as endowed with all the natural capacities and capabilities of improvement that distinguish the more enlightened races; but as being, with their capacities and capabilities, simply lowered by the lowering conditions to which they have been subjected, and thus, as having upon enlightened and dominant races and civilizations, a just claim to all of the privileges and occasions that can be safely accorded to them, of exercising all their faculties and powers, in working out and realizing

for themselves, the greatest improvement and results their actual capacities and capabilities may enable them to attain, free from the pressure of race prejudice or antagonisms, or of a dominion unwarranted by their mental capacity and intelligence.

As the complex organization and the innumerable wants of enlightened society, open to the humblest capacities, legitimate places and employments, and render the most humble grades of individuals positions, functions and services, essential to the completeness and welfare of the social and national body, to which the capacities, functions and services of even animals are subservient, the concession of those privileges occasions and immunities, to even subjected classes, will, when the concession is rightly due, benefit both the dominant and the dominated, as these will ever under such conditions, accomplish for themselves and for the community of which they are integrants, greater results in a state of freedom than in slavery.

The character and conditions of slavery, the mutual actions, reactions and effects of the enslaved, and of society upon each others character and conditions, and their differences in character and conditions relatively to each other, are as varied as the characters and conditions

of the slave classes, and of the communities in which slavery exists. The degree of disparity, or difference, between the enslaved and the dominant classes of a community, in their respective physical characteristics, material conditions, and degrees of enlightenment or of intelligence, together with the degree to which the enslaved are fitted to enter as assimilating components into the social or national body, determine, as a general rule, the measure of oppression and wrong, or of leniency and favor they are apt to receive from their dominators. Thus in the ruder or less enlightened stages of society, when the enslaved are of cognate race, subject to no race prejudices, and easily assimilating with the dominating community they belong to, they are generally treated with corresponding leniency and favor, frequently rising into the dominating class, to positions of trust, and to the highest honors; while the enslaved classes of even the most enlightened communities, if their physical, mental, and material conditions separate them widely from the dominating classes, and subject them to race prejudices, and unfit them for ready assimilation with the dominating community they belong to, are generally treated with a corresponding degree of oppression and tyranny.

Yet slavery may be regarded as among the normal conditions of mankind, and as subserving some useful and destined ends in the human economy. It has prevailed so continually from the earliest period to which man's history can be traced, as to constitute it a law of human condition, confined to no especial race, or class of races. In no known period has it been peculiar to the so-called inferior or dark races. Masses of the Caucasian family have, in every age, been found in a state of bondage, and in an abject and degraded condition, among the nations of the most remote antiquity, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, and contemporary nations. So are they at present found among the slavonic serfs of Russia and Poland, as in other portions of Europe, and in Asia, while the earlier history of Europe presents slavery, serfdom, and degradation, as the conditions of the great mass of the prevailing white races that constituted its population.

And slavery still exists among the greatest proportion of mankind, in various quarters of the earth, and in the midst of even the most enlightened nations. In the great American Republic, the proclaimed asylum, exemplar, champion, and hope of liberty and freedom, and the assumed refuge of the oppressed, slavery, up

to the present period, existed in some of its worst forms ; and it now leaves the disenthralled race, marked, in their physical peculiarities, with an indelible badge of past servitude, ignorance, and social degradation ; an inheritance that will long continue a cause of proscription, and operate with depressing effect upon their best aspirations and efforts to improve their capabilities, to propitiate prejudice, and to rise to acknowledged equality with the dominant race, even though their attainments might entitle them to the position. As far, however, as social equality may be withheld from them, they are simply in the position of the great bulk of mankind, most classes of whom must also realize, to different degrees, their exclusion upon various grounds, from social equality with classes that possess or assume to possess, some of the elements of real or of conventional superiority that entitle them to higher consideration or social position.

Slavery, it may be further stated, existed until a comparatively recent period among all of the modern nations of Europe, to whose advancing civilization and enlightenment, it has slowly yielded ; as it may from the same class of causes, have yielded among some of the more enlightened nations of antiquity of whom we have

indistinct records, or of whose existence history contains no notice.

In its relative amount, slavery is probably an approximately fixed quantity, determined by the natural or the accidental relative differences in the mental, physical, and material means of different races and masses of men, and may serve in its general operation, as one of the conditions best adapted to, and growing out of the relations that differently endowed or constituted masses of mankind are reciprocally fitted to stand in toward each other, for the working out of the best and the widest interests of both the subjected and the dominant, as well as of mankind in general. The limits of slavery, its continuance or its declension, its extension or its restriction, in any community, will ever be determined by a sum of causes, before which, the aims of human cupidity, philanthropy, and agitation, will prove comparatively powerless and of which these are more truly results.

During some future period, among some portions of the human family, and in some sections of the earth, artificial forces, may, in the progress of science and art, be so cheaply produced, machinery so perfected, and economically applied, as to take, to a far greater extent than at present, the place of human labor, and

aided by moral, social, and political causes and influences, with the system of mechanical production more perfectly adjusted to the general welfare; may tend to work out his more general enlightenment, his liberation from servitude, and from degrading degrees and forms of toil. But among other portions of the human family, in some other quarters of the earth, the reverse and compensating processes of degradation and enslavement, will, under other and lowering conditions, be going on with varied degrees of activity.

Morally, socially, politically, religiously, and industrially considered, slavery is often of a character so comprehensive and complicated, so infinite in the number, diversity, and intricacy of its conditions and bearings, of the causes and effects out of which it has grown, of those to which it is associated, and of those to which it is giving rise, that no mind is equal to grasp its full sum of causes and effects, conditions, relations, and consequences. Each gains some particular view, is moved by some special class of influences, all together work out, under the adjustments of a higher power, with their diverse views, means, and efforts, a mean general result, unforeseen and unaimed at by any single mind or class of minds.

Though the relationship and state of dependence in which the slave stands to his master, are the most depressed that can exist between different component classes of a community, and give rise to peculiar influences, affecting to different degrees, and in many directions, the characters and conditions of both the dependant and the dominant, and also of the community of which they are integrants ; there are many other relationships and states of dependence, of different forms, and of every grade of depression above that of slavery, which, under different social, political, and national conditions, legally free component classes of a community stand in, to dominant ones ; and out of these relationships and dependencies, there also arise peculiar influences that affect, to different degrees, and in various forms, the characters and conditions of the dependent, the dominant, and the community. The dependent classes being in both cases, subject to the peculiar disadvantages and evils that result, to different degrees and in innumerable forms, from the pressure of dominating classes, upon their interests and happiness, and which are determined by their relative degrees of intelligence, social and political status, prosperity, and degrees of disparity, as compared to their dominators ; who

also impart to them elevating influences, and many benefits, and are themselves equally influenced for good or for evil in return.

In both cases, the subordinated classes are equally among the legitimate and necessary components or classes of the community, its material elaborators, its hewers of wood and drawers of water, its mentalized bone-and-muscle-forces, through the instrumentality of which, mind draws from their various sources, all the innumerable products of earth, air, and water, and elaborates from the plastic materials within its reach the infinitely diversified forms, structures, mechanical arrangements, material combinations, and objects of utility, art, science, and beauty, and every other material result and creation of human agency, that enters into human progress and civilization, and through the medium of which, is manifested the high range of human capabilities, attainments, and destiny.

All the innumerable and varied material products of industry that minister to man's requirements and wants, under a high state of civilization, are worked out from the crude material, by the transforming manipulations of the working man; to whose labor, intelligence and skill, from their most humble forms,

up through ascending gradations, all art, science and ingenuity, owe their ability to realize all that they do realize, for the elevation, welfare, wealth, and embellishment of civilized life. Yet the working masses receive a relatively small proportion of the accumulations and benefits which their labor and skill yield to society, compared to the far larger proportion which accrues to the subordinating classes that represent the mind, enlightenment, and capital, that originate, put into operation, and control the activities of the working masses.

The law of distribution appears to be, that the higher attributes and the greater means, which aided labor in evolving the great results of human activities, must ever receive a proportionally greater share of their joint products. Nor is there ever likely to occur, such changes in the relative conditions of the respective classes, as will materially change or level those distributions, except in so far as they may oscillate with the oscillations of general prosperity and enlightenment, or the reverse, in the course of which, in some age, quarter of the earth, or nation's career, periods of great general prosperity and enlightenment will arise and elevate, with others the working classes, and enable them to realize greater returns for their labor;

and as surely will the competitions of labor and other depressing causes, sooner or later, bring about reactions, that must tend to their depression ; and as certainly too, will depressing causes be continually operating to the same end, among some portions or another of mankind.

And although each mode of labor or occupation, possesses a relative measure of inherent dignity, proportioned to the degree of intelligence, art, science, or skill required for its accomplishment, there are other standards of dignity or estimation, growing out of the social and material, as well as the mental conditions of the different classes, that determine the conventional status of the different modes of labor, or occupations, and which no philanthropy or social appliances, can ever avert, while the status of the subordinating industrial classes, who control labor, may rise indefinitely, as the order of ability, science, art, mechanical skill, and amount of capital they employ in their products, and which mainly determine it, have no assignable limits to their advancement.

Thus inequalities, as great in some respects as those that exist between the slave and the master, become sooner or later, an inevitable condition of society, between some portions of every national population, among which no

wider distinctions could occur than those that exist between the richly endowed, cultivated mind, elevated stations, functions, influence, and abundant material means of some, compared with the poverty, ignorance, and dependence of others. As slavery and serfdom passed away from among the more enlightened nations of Europe, as these rose in industry, art, science and wealth, and to higher standards in the requirements of social life; they were gradually exchanged for a subjection to social, material and industrial conditions, equally positive in their lowering effects upon some classes of the laboring poor; exposing them to a continually increasing tendency to declension in all that elevates man, to poverty, ignorance and dependence.

Extreme inequalities in the conditions of individuals and classes exist under all forms of government and of society; the savage, the nomad, the pastoral, and the communal, in all their diversities and in every portion of the earth. Everywhere are found, living together under the same social system and forming parts of it, the poor, the humble, and the dependent, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, the privileged and the great; and thus has it ever been, as far back as man's history can be traced.

While these extreme inequalities exist under every form of government and society, they differ under each, and continually vary in degree and character, according to the varied and ever-changing conditions, the greater or the smaller amount of general prosperity and well-being that respectively prevail. When these are favorable, extreme inequalities tend, according to their degree of excess, to popular uneasiness, reaction, revolution and correction; but under depressed popular conditions, they may extend to degrees that degrade the general population of a nation, lower its nationality and power, and lead to popular discontent and disorder, to apathy, debility, and national decay. This seems to be their inevitable tendency, which may be regarded as but one of the ordained causes, and also effects, of national decadence; the poor, the abject, and the suffering; the pampered, the luxurious, and the enervated, being among the results, the worn-out, used-up, effete elements, mental and physical, from the wear and tear of the processes of national action, agitations, and antagonisms, national vitality, which has thus run through its cycle of existence, of growth, maturity, and declension, either to perish and pass away, or to be acted upon by resuscitating conditions, to recommence a new cycle of existence.

The degree of complexity that prevails in the organization of society, and the degree of diversity that prevails in the requirements, functions, standing, and well-being of the individuals and classes composing it, but correspond to, and constitute the degree of social and national development, maturity or decline, the point in the cycle of national existence arrived at. Through every phase and condition of social and national existence, there prevail between man and man, the same degrees of disparity in their natural abilities, powers, and adaptedness to the conditions and requirements of life; so through every phase and condition, there must equally prevail wide differences in their degrees of prosperity, well-being, and social standing. Although every degree of increase in the complexity of the social organization, every degree of advance in the science of production, multiplies, in a corresponding degree, the mental and material requirements of life, and also the supply by which these are satisfied; yet notwithstanding this increase, the standards of the material wants of life may sink lower and lower among the poor, and the lower it sinks the lower will become the measure of supply that constitutes what is considered and felt to be a condition above suffering indigence.

Still it is happily not the higher or the lower standards of the material requirements of life that may prevail in the different phases of social and national existence, and in the different grades and conditions of life, that determine the measure of enjoyment and happiness that may be realized from the conditions of life. They are far more equally distributed among mankind throughout every different phase of national development, and every different grade and condition of life, above that of suffering indigence, than they are generally supposed to be; and suffering indigence due to extreme destitution, may be placed in the general category of suffering due to all other causes of suffering incident to humanity, throughout the various conditions of life, and among which are found the compensating sufferings, or equivalents, of extreme indigence.

Nor does even this necessarily imply suffering. A recent traveller writes, in reference to the present population of Egypt, "In America we should say, the large mass of them were in squalid, abject, hopeless poverty; but on examination, they seem fat, and certainly happier than the lower classes of any nation I have seen. The poverty of the most degraded outcast, begging class in New York, would be

positive prosperity to them here. One solitary ragged shirt is the sole property, the entire furniture, estate and expectation of ninety-nine in one hundred of the inhabitants of Egypt ; " and it may be added, their food is equally simple. Evidences without number, could be gathered from travels, from history, and among peoples of every quarter of the earth, from the polar regions to the tropics, to prove, that the standards and requirements of human enjoyment and happiness, readily conform themselves to the conditions and means that can be realized for their satisfaction. The same natural appetites, emotions, sympathies, and feelings, with the respective objects upon which they are exercised and by which they are satisfied, and which are the main sources of human enjoyment and happiness, are equally common and accessible to men of every grade of life. The degree of enjoyment and happiness realized from artificial sources and indulgences, more accidental, as depending upon degrees of wealth or means of indulgence, is throughout the different spheres, levelled, in a great measure, to a common standard, between the rich and the poor, by the compensating effects of satisfied or palled appetite on the one hand, and the fresh,

unblunted relish of stinted indulgence on the other.

The compensating blessing revealed by the statistics of life, according to which the longevity of the different classes of mankind increases as they descend in the social scale, indicates conditions in humble life favorable to health and enjoyment, and brings added proofs, that to all classes is assigned an average share of happiness, all being equally entitled to it, as the general worth of all, the social value of all as essential elements in the constitution of society, and the social evils that grow out of the conditions of all, are equal. And although individuals and society, as they rise in refinement and in the cultivation of the more elevated sentiments, emotions, and tastes, may rise, as they certainly do, in the character and elevation of their enjoyments, as the necessary result of more elevated and elevating conditions; still, the compensating conditions that accompany refinement, and those that belong to the different classes of life, leave the measure of enjoyment and happiness that are realized, levelled throughout all the ranks of life, to the average standard that belongs to general humanity throughout all of its phases of social advancement, and all of its gradations of social standing.

On the inequalities of human condition, philosophers, moralists, and philanthropists have pondered and moralized for ages, vainly endeavoring to expound the causes of the seeming evil, and to find a remedy. High rates of interest on capital, mechanical perfectionments applied to the productions of industry, the competitions of capital and labor, misgovernment and oppression, with many conditions peculiar to the different forms and degrees of civilization, have been regarded as causes tending to accumulate wealth into the hands of the few, and to reduce to comparative poverty and dependence the many. But individual and class inequality is in reality due to a number and sum of causes almost infinite relatively to human power of detection and control.

And in view of its universality, in view of the fact, that the great and preëminent blessings and enjoyments of life are equally accessible to every class, and equally realized in every condition of life; in view also of the equalizing compensations that exist in the different conditions of life, and in view of the necessity of gradation in individual and class standing and occupation; it may be questioned, whether this inequality, instead of being an evil, is not a necessary and an essential condition, a blessing

in the constitution of society, where all the prizes of life are open to the struggles of competition, and incite to action and to effort, which are the conditions of development and progress, the occasion for the exercise of the given faculties of the mind.

For all humanity the wheel of fortune ever revolves, and families, nations, races, rise and sink, and respectively take their turns, as the higher or as the lower elements of the respective systems to which they belong; races and nations as high or as low members in the system of races and nations; individuals and families, as high or as low members or elements in the scheme of social existence. For hopeless as may appear the chances for the poor and the lowly of rising to more elevated positions, and forming the higher elements of that existence, it must inevitably occur in the ever-circling revolutions of human change, in which the posterity of the serf and of the king, of the depressed and of the elevated, will, in revolving generations, exchange positions.

The proportional numbers of mankind who are animated by elevating ambitions, impelling to self-sacrificing efforts for the attainment of knowledge and distinction, and also the degrees to which they are thus animated and impelled,

as well as the proportional numbers who are debarred from those ends by their tastes, character or conditions, or by the necessities of their positions, are probably, as a general rule, adjusted under every diversity of social condition, to the best available requirements of the general good.

Were the humble, unenlightened, and dependent, or were mankind generally, less satisfied with their conditions, and more ambitious to enter into the struggle of competition for high attainment, position and distinction, than under their various conditions they actually have been and are ; society, which owes so much of its repose and security to the unaspiring contentment, the limited ambitions, of its masses, would be convulsed and disordered by the general struggle for superiority, which now finds its restrictions and its limits in the existing diversity of mental and material conditions, in existing standards, capabilities, necessities and tastes, which are ever in harmony with, adapted to, and equivalents of, the varied existing requirements and functions of social life, in the midst of which, the general love of superiority, and the varied grades of ambition, find their true satisfaction.

Personal and class inequality in its various

forms, in ability, wealth, intelligence, station, occupation, personal adaptedness, standards, conditions, and means, is a law of social life and necessary to its very existence. No well-ordered, social organization, gradation of rank, function and occupation, could exist between an aggregation of individuals endowed with an equal share of mental and material means. Were the wealth of the most opulent nations equally distributed among their population, each individual would receive a share so small as to constitute a general poverty, unequal to any of the great aims and ends of social existence. For, moralize as we may upon the wealth, expenditure, and luxury of society, it is to the high standards and requirements in the wants of life, arising out of great wealth, that are in a great measure due, most of the great achievements of art, science, and philanthropy. All of the great works of benevolence and piety, all that administers to the physical enjoyments and to the intellectual requirements of refined life, embracing the most profound researches of the mind, in every department of creation, have been realized directly or indirectly through the fastidious requirements of wealth and refinement in individual, social, and national existence, and in the aims and efforts

of satisfying which, have been unfolded all the higher attainments of mankind.

The concentration of wealth into the hands of a portion of the community, operates practically as a joint stock association, into which each places his portion, and contributes to the creation of an amount out of which can be realized the higher conditions and wants of civilization. Each receives in some form in return, his share of advantage or recompense, proportioned, as a general rule, to the rank he holds, and to the value of the services that belong to the place he occupies, and to the functions he fulfils in the social scheme.

Science and art may evoke from the material world, force to any extent, in aid of human progress, without in the least lessening, if not increasing, the distinctions that exist between man and man, class and class. The higher society rises in civilization and attainment, and in the number, complexity, and perfectionment of its conditions, the greater becomes the necessity of diversity in social rank, and in individual ability, fitness, and willingness, to fill the varied departments, fulfil the various functions, and meet the varied wants, of social life, the higher requirements of which demand, and give rise to proportionally higher ranges of ability in some,

and yield them a proportionate recompense ; while the perfectionments of social and mechanical appliances give rise to occupations that require less and less of ability and intelligence, and yield smaller and smaller remuneration, until sooner or later, some departments of labor, some functions and occupations, need little more than muscular force, and sink to the recompense of a precarious subsistence, or engender pauperism and misery. While at the same time, advance in civilization, with its higher and more numerous standards and its greater refinement in the requirements and wants of social life, places in proportionally lowering contrast, and also renders more apparently unequal and deficient in the elements of happiness than they in reality are, the comparatively limited advantages, means of subsistence, of enjoyment and well-being realized by some classes of the poor.

Thus with the progress, complexity, and perfectionment of social life, distinctions increase in number and widen in degree, between individual and individual, class and class, each of which represents or constitutes a social force, proportioned to, and in a great degree shaped by their mental and material means ; and the compensating affinities and antagonisms of which, together carry along the social movement and give it direction.

So the political force that enters as a determining element in a nation's progress and direction, is a mean result of the aggregate and conflicting political aims and action of the national body, in which individual and class interests, and party exaggerations of each others' points of difference, as to integrity, patriotism, intelligence, respectability, views, aims, and principles, are the exciting motors, nicely adapted to the general mass, and adjusted to produce upon it the general effect they do, in arousing it to action, prompting its efforts, and bringing its opposed political forces into a state of compensating activity, the best fitted to yield the greatest amount of political results its conditions permit.

Thus in national action, in politics, religion, and morals, as throughout nature, the antagonisms of kindred forces is the great eliciting, producing principle. In gravitation, the atom and the earth equally act upon each other by a kindred force, from which result, as a necessary consequence, all its phenomena. In electricity, it is from the mutual attraction and repulsion of similar principles with their inherent forces, that its phenomena necessarily result. In all chemical changes, the action by which they are produced, necessarily result from forces growing

out of a mutual election between the particles acting upon each other; and organic growth and change are effected by the same mutual election between the particles which act upon each other and necessarily produce the phenomena of organic existence. So mind acts upon mind, and yields results as necessarily and equally according to unbending immutable laws, as matter. All of the physical activities and antagonisms, social, political, class, and national struggles and revolutions of mankind, are rigidly the expressions or equivalents of their mental forces, the conflicting ideas, opinions, sentiments, that underlie the material forces, of which they are the true originating forces; between which the struggle is in reality waged, material forces and activities being but the means through which they effect their given ends.

On every great national question or measure, the national mind may be considered as divided into three parts; two of which are antagonistic to each other, and the mean sum, force, and tendency of their mutual and compensating action, are the determining force and tendency of the public mind. The other part is neutral, taking in party questions or measures, but a negative and an inactive interest, and is prob-

ably, within certain limits, a constant proportional quantity, a destined component, fulfilling a destined and useful function, a moderating influence, in every national organization ; not throwing its action and influence into the scale of either of the other parts, until aroused by social or national emergencies, it rises above party considerations and aims, into a correcting compensating power.

The great proportion of mankind, in every class, community and nation, are, as a general rule, governed by common sense, practical views, sentiments, feelings, standards of conduct, ideas of self-interest, principles and aims, which the enthusiastic, the extreme, and the violent, who are an ever present, a relatively proportioned, though a comparatively limited class, are ever carrying to excess in opposite directions and in compensating antagonisms to each other, to extremes of innumerable gradations, producing upon the mass in the midst of which they operate, a general mean influence proportioned to their energy and perseverance, their enthusiasm and excess, exciting it to activity, arousing it to discussion and to action, and rendering more vital and productive the great principles of national existence, action, and well-being that have been educed from the con-

ditions of the nation and the period, and that have been recognized by the national mind, in conformity to whose intuitions, sentiments and judgments, which constitute the spirit of the age, leading men and minds owe their power and influence, which would perish the moment they came into collision with the tendencies of the general national mind and movement.

The great preponderating more inert national mass, though influenced by and oscillating between the opposing and compensating extremes of antagonistic opinions, principles, and aims, of party strife, enthusiasm, and excess, still preserves a general mean between the two, and controls by its compensated sum of common sense, practical judgments, intuitions and action, the general direction of the national movement.

Progression and stability are the balancing forces, the reciprocating principles of social and national action. The first is made up of the impulsive elements of change, reform, and progress, the second, of the moderating elements of conservatism and stability. Excess in either the impulsive or the conservative elements prevails in some degree, in every national body, and according to its degree, is equally subversive of national welfare. In the excess of one is a dangerous stability, in that of the other, as

dangerous a momentum and advancement. But no nation unless for transient periods, hits upon the just and happy medium. All oscillate from one side of it to the other, as one or the other class of elements prevail. Both are essential forces in national dynamics. The absence of either would allow the national body to be carried off the track of its best interests as surely as a heavenly body would be hurled from its orbit, in the absence of either of the reciprocating forces which preserve in equilibrium, the compensating oscillations of its movements.

The wisdom or the folly, the corruption or the integrity of the national judgment and action, arise, as a general rule, from the aggregate conditions and determinations of the national mind. The folly or the wisdom, the corruption or the integrity of the classes that reach the governmental offices of a country, is determined by causes more potent than the popular election or agency, or than the will and agency of a controlling few, and arises from an infinite variety and complication of social, national, material, political, civil, and moral conditions beyond human control. It is the measure of the corrupting conditions of the period and community that determines the measure of political corruption that may prevail in



a community or nation. The relative proportion of men accessible to such corruptions are probably, under similar influencing conditions, unvarying, rising in regular ratio, according to the force of the corrupting conditions that may prevail, and to the increase of value in the spoils to be won; embracing as it rises, minds and characters of a higher and higher order, until few are left superior to the power and above the reach of the temptation and corruption which are inevitable products of national existence and in their excess, are but among the inevitable causes, and also among the ordained effects, of that national change and decay that aid in working out the alternating rise and decline of nations and races, which enter as a law into the scheme of human existence.

National determinations due to official influences are a mere item in the whole sum of national influences to good and evil. Even the full effect resulting from the aggregate political action of the national body, is but an element among the innumerable elements by which the fluctuations in a nation's prosperity are effected. These even when connected with changes of sovereignty are occasioned mainly by changes in the aggregate circumstances, conditions, and

action of the national body and mind. The efforts of the great Frederick were but a comparatively trifling condition, among the other innumerable conditions past and present pertaining to Prussia, and to the nations by which she was surrounded, that raised her to the greatness she attained under his reign. Nor did the talents of Louis the Fourteenth, or of Napoleon, shape the glory and the shame of France during their reigns. Each had his functions to perform, as but an integrant member of the national body to which he belonged ; its greatness and its misfortunes resulted from the conditions, and mind, and action of the aggregate mass. Had Frederick been unequal to the conditions and requirements of his position, period and country, a higher mind would have performed his work in the national economy in the person of a minister, as a Richelieu or a Mazarin performed it for their sovereigns ; and had Napoleon never existed, some hero among the great minds of the nation would have filled the place he held in its organism, and performed the requirements of the station he occupied.

Even the political and social disruptions, and excesses of revolutions, result from the quiet momentum and direction of the great tide of contending interests, passions, opinions, efforts,

and conditions, that quietly carry the national millions on to the accomplishment of their personal ends, and to the fulfilment of their common destiny. Individual and party excesses being the concentrated effects of certain conditions in the national body, flashing out like the electric forces that have been silently and slowly accumulating, and in proportion to their imposing and anomalous characters, react as agents in shaping the national destiny, and at times arrest and startle so deeply the attention by their glaring and obtrusive characters, that individual and party contentions and aims, seem to the general view, the sole moving influences of the national struggle; in which are unseen the great principles and laws, and the innumerable circumstances, which are silently and deeply at work, in and upon the mass, carrying it on with a sure movement to its destiny, by a mighty force, of which individual and party influences are but simple elements. And revolutions and civil wars, which present themselves to the general mind, as the master-causes among the determining agencies of a nation's progress and direction, are more truly, but some of the necessary results of this progress and direction, but some of the phenomena of the national conditions.

The spirit and the tendencies that charac-

terize the laws and the action of the governing powers, and that actuate the governing principles of nations, under the different phases of disorder through which they pass, are determined by their conditions, emergencies and wants, and by their inherent instincts of self-preservation, which so long as they preserve the elements and the vigor of a normal condition, will, by means, and by degrees of lenity or of rigor, ever rising to the requirements of the national emergencies, be, as a general rule, equal to maintain among those elements, or to restore the healthful equilibrium essential to national welfare. But when the principle of decay is at work upon national bodies, as in the decay of organic forms, the vital elements of their existence are impaired, their self-recuperating principle is unequal to the cure of their maladies, and fails to restore the healthful adjustments of their disturbed elements, or to arrest their disorganization. So long as they retain their full vitality, and the elements of a healthful condition, or their self-restorative power, the revolutions and disorders through which they pass, may be regarded as the recuperative evolutions of their national life, thus working out their ends in accordance with the national instincts, intuitions, reasonings, and laws of self-

preservation, which, as a general rule, as a necessary consequence, brings into exercise the best available means, under the lead of the most efficient minds, and are ever the regenerating processes through which national ailments are removed, and the normal conditions of nations are restored.

Whatever be the conditions of a nation, as regards the relative amounts of well-being, civil and political rights, enlightenment, &c., that respectively fall to the share of the humble and of the privileged classes, even when these possess a seeming monopoly of advantages and enjoyments, are seldom brought about or sustained by the action of the privileged, or by the aims and efforts of the governing powers, but are the accumulated effects of the innumerable and uncontrollable causes that determine national conditions, and that go to form the national scheme and system, in which, however disordered by evil, the humble and the privileged equally take the place, perform the part, and realize the individual and class conditions that respectively fall to their lots, from a sum of equally innumerable and uncontrollable causes, which grow out of, and exist in the conflicting and compensating conditions, powers, passions, interests, aims and efforts that agitate and carry *along* society.

All of the varied social and political conditions of a people, from the highest to the lowest degrees of popular freedom and welfare, spring from the same uncontrollable sum of the conditions of a country, as do its statutes and laws, which are equivalents of those conditions, and but feeble barriers against changes in the conditions, and in the relative positions to each other, of the different classes of society, or against the encroachments of the different classes upon the social and political rights of each other, which with all their guarantees and changing phases and fluctuations, have their origin in, and depend upon the continually changing relative conditions, interests, aims and powers of the different classes that make up the national body. Each class is ever pressing upon the limits, and endeavoring to widen the bounds and lessen the restrictions of its social, civil, and political conditions, with an energy and effectiveness proportioned to its mental and material means.

Every nation and people, at each period of their history, have, growing out of their conditions, and more or less closely adapted to them, a certain general mean measure of political and social liberty, which is approximately the measure of their capability and fitness for it; and

which is, among different nations and peoples, expressed in different forms, and ever asserts itself in some manner or another, throughout every change of institutions and laws, into the formation of which it also enters, and if repressed and curtailed in one direction, will still manifest itself and compensate itself in some other.

The aggregate conditions, the inherent characteristics, tendencies and powers, that belong to the respective classes of a people, and that accompany their rise, progress or decline, in any direction to any change, determine the practical workings, tendencies, and results of their institutions and laws upon the different classes; and however strongly the institutions and laws of a people may bear the marks, as to some degree they generally do, of a past condition of society, more or less favorable or unfavorable, just or unjust, to some classes of the community, than that of a present period, according as the direction of the social movement may have been elevating or lowering, their actual spirit, and practical workings upon the respective classes, and the actual characters and conditions of those classes, must necessarily accord, as they reciprocally act upon each other, and are mutually the effects of the same system of national conditions.

The different forms of government belonging to different nations, are but the necessary results of the different national conditions, with which they can never be long out of harmony, but will ever return to an accordance with the national conditions, with an energy proportioned to their degree of departure from them. Whatever be the form of government, this receives the character of its action upon the national welfare, from the national conditions to which it becomes associated. Form of government is but a single element, among the innumerable elements by which are determined the character and degree of the evils and of the benefits respectively realized by different national populations under their respective forms of government. Evils equally numerous and depressing, and benefits equally numerous and elevating in character and degree, may prevail under any form of government. The form best adapted to the national conditions is the best, through every degree of democracy and of despotism.

This, where it exists, is, as a general rule, a result of the conditions and wants of the nation, and essential to its best interests, being frequently the only effective curb to national disorder, and the only remedy for national anarchy, from which it generally springs. And every

different degree of centralization, of regulative and coercive governmental power, arises from, and is self-adjusted more or less closely to, the national conditions and requirements with which it is associated or by which it is accompanied ; and ever tends to react to an accordance with them, in proportion to its departure from conformity. The democratic and the aristocratic elements of governmental power, both equally oscillate and swerve to and from an accordance with their accompanying national conditions and requirements, and equally tend to their respective species of excesses and abuses, which have to be combatted, corrected or neutralized, and which ever meet, and according to their degrees excite to action their compensating antagonisms, in a struggle ever to be renewed.

The democratic and the aristocratic, in some of their numerous modes and degrees and proportions to each other, are both equally among the necessary and inseparable elements of every state and condition of society. Both have equally their origin in, and are the manifestations of peculiar passions, emotions, sentiments, desires and aims, of the mind, and both are blended in compensating antagonism to each other, so balanced as to preserve their excesses within the reach of their restorative reactions

upon each other ; all of the diversities of their modes, relative proportions, force, and agency, to each other, having a simultaneous existence among the different masses that form the human family, and are ever fluctuating with the fluctuating conditions of those masses.

Whatever be the form of government, the degree of prosperity or of abasement, the peculiar advantages, or disadvantages or defects, of a nation, all the circumstances, internal and external, belonging to it, all those of the multitude individually as well as collectively which form it, are the moulding elements of its character, conditions and future ; all of its multitudes thinking, feeling, and acting in obedience to just such influences, individually and nationally, as render them, their peculiarities, imperfections, and perfections, individually and nationally, as a matter of necessity, just what they are.

The efforts and influence of the greatest individual, or of the most powerful class, as contrasted with the accumulated results and influences which the past and the present have contributed to the national conditions, and with the mighty complexity and momentum these results and influences have given to the social movement and direction, shrink into comparative nothingness. And so the results of the action and

influences of any particular nation or race, upon the conditions of the whole human family during any particular period, shrink into comparative nothingness, as contrasted with the accumulated full sum of results, due to all the past and present action and influences of physical causes, and of the whole of united humanity, is its world-wide, never-ceasing existence, adjustments, actions, reactions and determinations to the same end.

The transforming changes that one race, nation, civilization, gives rise to in another, are mainly due to the inherent elements, conditions, fitness, susceptibility of being acted upon, the powers of improvement, excited instincts, desires, aims, and efforts of the mass acted upon ; as truly as the fermenting mass carries on by its own inherent elements, conditions, and forces, the action and processes through which it works out its transforming results and ends ; and which are but set in movement by the fermenting action communicated to it by contact with the excited atom of ferment. The national, as well as the fermenting mass, can only be acted upon when, and to the degree to which its conditions permit, or favor, the propagation of the communicated action.

When in human conditions, a relatively small

force, is thus the exciting cause of great results, these are ever due to the sum, and proportioned to the magnitude, of the forces set in movement by the first. Even when the action is that of a conquering upon a conquered nation, race, or civilization, it is mainly that propagated action, that works out the transforming changes, either elevating or depressing, that thus occur in the conditions of the conquered, and which as equally and as frequently occur in the conditions of the conquering, through the action of the conquered; for enlightened nations with all their superiority of knowledge and means, as frequently sink into decay, and yield to the sterner and rising energies, qualities, and influences of rude or less enlightened nations or masses, as rude and unenlightened nations or masses yield to the superior intelligence and means of enlightened ones, both of which reciprocally act upon and elevate, or depress each other, according to their respective relative conditions, tendencies, and forces.

The relative effects reciprocally produced upon the different nations, races, classes, communities, and individuals of the human family, by their mutual action upon each other, is determined by, and proportioned to their respective mental, physical, material forces or means.

While from the infinitely innumerable and complicated relations and adjustments which mutually exist between the earth and man, the conditions and influences of the different portions of the earth, and of the different portions of the human family in their mutual actions, reactions, and effects upon each other, are an intimately related whole, rigidly due throughout to the preordained constitution of nature, which determines the character, direction, and results of human action and agency, as surely as it does those of every other part of the universe, amid the infinite forces and influences of which — even on human destiny — the agency of humanity's collective reason is but a trifling element; that of national or of class reason, a mere item; and of man's individual reason, an infinite fraction.

Stand upon some commanding height, cast an exploring glance over the wide-spread scene around, where in every direction, the habitations of man, with their accessory objects and features, stretch away in seeming lifelessness and silence until lost to view, beyond which, imagination may still discern them, grouped in the same impressive silence before its distant survey, extending on and on, until they encircle the earth; each habitation, a picture of peace,

silence, and lifelessness, in the distance, contains a little busy circle, made up of the same elements ; parents, children, domestics ; the same cares and hopes, vanities and ambitions, affections and desires. In each, children rising in all the gradations of age, to form new generations. In each, caressed with the same parental tenderness, hopefulness, vanity and selfishness. Each abode interlinked to each, by their different affinities ; by the thousand ties of love, hatred, interest and all that acts between man and man. From each abode goes forth an influence to act upon others, until the earth is enwrapt as in a social net-work, made up of the ties that link together human society in one universal brotherhood of every degree of civilized and of barbarous fellowship ; from man, savage and uncombined, a remove from the brute, to man, enlightened and associated, and endued with the aspirations and the powers of angels or of fiends.

Throughout this wide scene, how insignificant is each separate abode with its cares and ambitions, its sorrows and joys, and how mighty a mass of thought and action and effect has resulted, and is ever resulting from the aggregate efforts of their inmates. Contrast the silent and peaceful tone of their distant aspect, with the warring conflicts, the pompous pag-

eantries, and social contentions and tumults, of their congregated multitudes; and think, that from such peaceful, quiet retreats, from all the amenities and charities of the domestic and social circles, can rush such excited, maddened or exulting thousands, as often ravage the earth, or swell the tumult of pageant display; and think, how brief is the space of time, how small the scope of action, allotted to any individual of that wide scene, and all enacted in it by human agency. The mightiest may die, and the human masses around them, move on with their momentum and direction as unchanged as though an insect had perished from among them. And nations and civilizations that have immortalized scenes of the earth by their glory, may perish and the tide of humanity flow on unchecked and unswerved, in the momentum and direction it receives from the full sum of conditions belonging to its whole mass. And he whose affections have singled out from the scene some endeared objects, which he clings to and cherishes as though they were a part of his being, with generations after generations, will pass away, and those objects still stand unaltered; each tree that waves around him, every hill and valley, every stream and feature of the landscape that he may have blended in happy and

endearing association with his recollections and feelings, may rest unchanged, and be gazed upon with the same emotions by successive thousands, and their associations be entwined through generations of almost endless succession, with the recollections and affections of other coming minds, and in succession perish with them. The eternal hills and valleys, with nearly their every feature, will still spread before the view, untouched and unchanged by a measure of time that will usher successive millions and nations into being, and sweep them successively into oblivion. And the hills and the valleys may crumble away and all things on them, disappear, and the earth perish from the scene of creation, and the face of heaven will still look down with an unchanged aspect upon the space it occupied. The sun, with every planet in the system, may pass away, and the starry firmament will still glow with its myriad orbs untouched and unchanged ; and man, the ephemeron of a moment, shall he doubt his infinite insignificance, in the boundless of even the world he dwells upon ; or question the controlling agency of God, over his every volition and act, over all the conditions and phases of human existence !

THE END.



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